

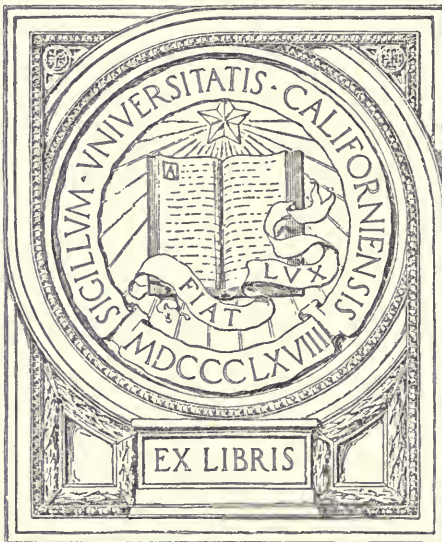
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*Am. Int. Club -
Jan. 17, 1912*

LATER SPEECHES

OF

Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, LL.D.

- At the Twenty-first Annual Dinner given by the Montauk Club of Brooklyn, in Celebration of Senator Depew's Seventy-eighth Birthday, May 4, 1912.
- At the Pilgrims' Coronation Dinner, Savoy Hotel, London, June 28, 1911, in Honor of the Special Ambassador to the Coronation, Hon. John Hays Hammond.
- At the Banquet given by the American Chamber of Commerce of Paris, France, July 4, 1911.
- At the Meeting in Memory of Cornelius N. Bliss, held by the Republican Club of the City of New York, November 5, 1911.
- At the Dinner of the New England Society of New York, December 22, 1911, in Response to the Toast: "The Puritan Survival."
- At the Annual Dinner of the Society of the Genesee, at the Hotel Knickerbocker, New York City, January 20, 1912.
- At the Celebration of the Treaty of Peace between France and the United States, made February 6, 1778, being the first Treaty Ever Made by the United States, February 6, 1912, at Café Martin, New York City.
- At the Twenty-sixth Annual Lincoln Dinner of the Republican Club of the City of New York, at the Waldorf-Astoria, February 12, 1912.
- At the Celebration by the New York State Society of the Cincinnati of the One Hundred and Eightieth Birthday of George Washington, at the Waldorf-Astoria, February 22, 1912.
- At the Dinner given by the United Swedish Societies and the John Ericsson Memorial Association, March 9, 1912, at the Park Avenue Hotel, New York City, in Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Battle between Monitor and Merrimac.
- At the Dinner given by the Lotos Club of New York to Mr. Justice Pitney, of the Supreme Court, May 2, 1912.

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Chauncey M. Depew.

Compliments of

Chauncey M. Depew.

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Twenty-first Annual Dinner Given by
the Montauk Club of Brooklyn, in Celebra-
tion of his Seventy-eighth Birthday, May
4, 1912.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: To-night this series of birthday dinners comes of age. For twenty-one successive years you have honored me with this compliment. Some members have died, but their sons, introduced to me here when they were boys, are now succeeding their fathers among my generous hosts. I know nothing in the way of friendly greeting from a large body of men which compares with it. Some things have occurred at this table during this period which have been widely published and discussed. Through them the Montauk Club has been mentioned and known all over the world. I remember some years ago walking down the Strand in London with Governor Woodruff, how both of us were astonished to hear the newsboys shouting, "Speech of Chauncey Depew at the Montauk Club," and to see the name in black letters on every news stand under the heading of the newspaper which featured the event. Multitudes became familiar with the Montauk Club who had never before, and have never since, heard of Brooklyn.

The presence here of my friends Governor Woodruff and Comptroller Prendergast suggests an illuminating incident showing the effects of the Presidential primary on the citizen. They live in the same Congressional district which is entitled to two delegates to the National Republican Convention. It is a most intelligent community brought up under the eloquence of Henry Ward Beecher and the Reverend Dr. Storrs,

Senator Depew's birthday is April 23d, but, owing to local conditions, the celebration of the event this year was May 4th.

two of the most remarkable orators of this generation. Woodruff announced that he was for Taft. Prendergast declared emphatically for Roosevelt, and this constituency elected both unanimously.

In the varying periods at which people arrive at intelligent maturity, it is hard to determine how twenty-one came to be selected as the proper date for every degree of intelligence. In my own experience I have known many who were fully qualified for the responsibilities of manhood several years before twenty-one and others who never became of age. For some unaccountable reason they fail to grasp the opportunities which come to every man in a greater or less degree during his life. Their progress is arrested somehow and they never get beyond the station where they have landed, while others make a tremendous splurge in their progression but never arrive. Many in their intellectual equipment present a Queen Anne front with a Mary Ann back. They seem to possess everything necessary for success, and yet their friends are always disappointed in them and can never tell what screw is loose in their machinery.

In looking over the record of the seventy-eight years of my life, of which more than sixty years have been intensively active, during which time I have been blessed with rare opportunities for acquaintances and worldwide observations, I find no place for the pessimism of to-day which is so prevalent in every organ of public opinion and at every gathering of the people. They tell us that the family bond is loosening and the sacred tie of marriage has lost strength in the knot. There are twenty millions of married people in the United States, and the percentage of them who have sought relief in the courts from their bond is not appreciable compared with the whole. They say suicides are increasing. There are ninety millions of people in the United States, and a suicide is so rare that it occupies the headlines for that one unfortunate. They complain that there is an increase in breaches of trust. There have been in the last twenty years continuously in places of the highest trust in corporations and fiduciary relations with individuals at least twenty-five thousand people, and yet a breach of trust is so rare in a great institution or in

the administration of an estate that it arrests and occupies the attention of the whole country. They tell us that religion has been superseded by doubt, but the churches were never so near together, never worked so harmoniously in common, never were rendering such efficient service and never so open. Their contributions were never so large nor so efficiently applied. There were never so many assisting organizations, like the Salvation Army, the Volunteers of America, the Epworth League, the Christian Endeavor Society, the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, and now this newly organized and aggressive force, gathering strength from day to day, the Religion and Forward Movement.

There is unrest in the world it is true. It is more acute than ever before. It is in all countries. It has come from the increase in education and the enlargement of world view to the individual everywhere, but, with the exception of the infinitesimally small number of anarchistic leaders, it is an honest, earnest and wholesome striving for better conditions, and, in the end, for more harmonious relations between all classes and conditions of the community.

In our annual celebrations during these twenty-one years, we have touched lightly, for it could only be lightly, upon the happenings of the twelve months preceding. We have always drawn from them the lesson of hope and the inspiration of progress. As we look back over the whole twenty-one years they are pregnant with lessons. The principal lesson is the value of discussion and education in affairs affecting the government and the people as a whole. I have ceased to be frightened or greatly disturbed over tumultuous popular uprisings which seem to threaten the very foundations. The Ark of the Covenant may rock on rough roads, or with incompetent guides, or the efforts of impious hands to see what would follow the destruction of faith, and yet after proper efforts, after the lazy have been energized, after the atmosphere has been cleared by the heat of debate, the social and political fabric is not rebuilt but improved and remains stable for another long period.

Our experiment of government started with the Confederation. It was found to be a rope of sand. With that

experience our Fathers framed the present Constitution and created a Republic of sovereign States with a supreme central government. They threw every possible check around hasty and immature action and every guard which wisdom and forethought could devise against revolution. The result is that our Constitution is the only one in the world which lives to-day as it did one hundred and twenty-five years ago and is found as adaptable for all the wants, all the desires, all the aspirations and all the development of ninety millions of people and forty-eight States as it was for three millions of people and thirteen States.

I well remember the years of the slavery discussion from '48 to '61. It began with a few Abolitionists who were regarded as anarchists. With discussion and debate, it got so far as to safeguard the institution where it existed and to prohibit its extension into the States that were to be formed out of the new territories. On that issue and the preservation of the Union we fought the Civil War and slavery was abolished and the Union was triumphant. Then came the long discussion of reconstruction. Had the extremist prevailed the States which went into rebellion would have remained subject provinces with a certainty of frequent revolutions. Again discussion and debate allayed passions, buried resentments, recognized that the country must live, if it lived at all, under the Constitution of the Fathers and with a central government and sovereign States as they originated it. That settled forever the question of the Union of the States and of the powers of the Federal Government as distinguished from those of the state sovereignties.

We can all remember the cowardice of the public men of all parties in the United States during the period of irredeemable currency and fiat money. Again discussion and debate, aided by frequent panics and frightful bankruptcies, brought us to the resumption of specie payments. Then for twenty years cowardice among those who knew, and there were not many, and the desire to catch the fleeting sentiment of the hour by demagogues, and there were many, and the passionate belief in silver which was almost universal ruled and nearly ruined the country. Again discussion and debate, and the

wholesome discipline of financial disturbances and industrial disasters and general bankruptcies clarified the air and that question was disposed of. We came to a gold standard like all the rest of the highly organized industrial nations of the world.

We then entered at once upon an extraordinary period of development of resources, of extension of enterprises, of settlement of new lands, of organization of growing communities and a general prosperity such as the world has never witnessed.

The Presidents during this period, and I will only speak of those who have joined the majority, were Harrison, Cleveland and McKinley.

Harrison was one of the ablest of our Presidents. He was a great lawyer and had a wonderful and intuitive grasp of our internal policy and foreign relations. He had an unfortunate manner, though a very warm, genial, loving and lovable disposition. I have known many public men who failed long before they reached the presidency because of unfortunate manners. I have known many business men who were most unpopular for the same reason. It comes usually from the hard struggle in the beginning of a career. It comes sometimes from timidity and distrust of one's self. I have known people who were most rude and discourteous, which was their only method of asserting their individuality and equality with others who, for some reason which they could not account for, they distrusted or feared. General Harrison said to me one day, "My whole life has been one of struggle and fight. No one ever did me a favor or lent me a helping hand. I began alone without fortune or acquaintances. Every step of my career has been against violent, and often virulent, opposition." In that brief expression I saw the secret of his unpopularity. Everyone with whom he came in contact was a possible enemy, but when the story of his administration comes to be written his fame will grow brighter as the narrative advances.

Harrison offered me a place in his Cabinet at the beginning of his administration and the position of Secretary of State when Blaine resigned, which I declined, but promised to accept if he was re-elected. This brought about an opportunity

for intimacy with and study and appreciation of this remarkable man who won laurels on battlefields as a soldier, distinction at the Bar and an enduring place in our history as a statesman.

Cleveland I knew at the Bar—a strong, robust, virile, self-reliant, aggressive, courageous and honest personality. I have met all the leaders of the Bar of the last fifty years, and he certainly was an original. While President of the New York Central Railroad I offered him the attorneyship of the company in Western New York. I said to him that he could so organize his office as to keep his present practice which was worth ten thousand dollars a year, while the place I offered him would add fifteen thousand to it. His answer was unique—"I have set for myself a limit of the work I will do and reserve time enough for pleasure and sport and to fish. I have reached my limit in my private practice, and a hundred thousand dollars a year would not tempt me to add an hour more to what I am doing." His convictions were adamant. He had been brought up in the Democratic faith and would put into practice its theories. When the Wilson Tariff Bill was passed, which was a compromise between Democratic theories and protection practices within his party, he denounced it as a scheme of perfidy and dishonor and withheld his signature. He demanded the repeal of the Silver Purchase Bill which threatened endless trouble to our currency, and with the aid of Republican votes secured it. He vetoed the Bland Silver Bill which was the Waterloo of Silver, either by itself or in the double standard, being the standard of value in the United States.

Those three things lost him the support of his party. He retired from office with a unanimity never equalled because the Republicans were naturally against him and he did not have a corporal's guard of political friends in his own party. But his rugged figure will ever be a conspicuous one among American statesmen. His style in his public documents and addresses had a Johnsonian characteristic which was new in our political literature. I asked him where he acquired it and how. He said, "My father was a clergyman. His means were limited and he could not afford to send me to the academies, and so I

was educated at home. He took particular pains with my compositions, and naturally he taught me the style of his sermons." The result was, he said, that while at the Bar in Buffalo when a member died he was always called upon to write the obituary.

McKinley was the most genial and lovable of our Presidents. He would give a visitor a Pink from the bouquet which was always on his table in a manner which led the recipient to believe that none other of the millions of men and women and children in the United States had ever received such a distinction. Yet he gave Pinks to everybody who called without destroying this illusion.

He was the most accomplished campaigner among our Presidents and had few equals upon the platform in popularity and persuasion. He sensed, as it were, the public temper and how it might be moved as few have ever done. His campaign for the Presidency was an extraordinary illustration of the thought, which I have been advancing, that with discussion, argument and debate the American people in the end come out right no matter how wrong they may have been from temporary causes for a period. Mark Hanna, the most practical statesman who ever lived, raised and spent four millions of dollars in that canvass, not to buy votes but to erect a platform and put a speaker on it in every school district in the United States, to secure space in the columns of newspapers in every locality and to print tons of literature and send colporteurs to distribute it in buggy-wagons throughout all the highways and byways of the land. That was what won the gold standard over the silver craze under most unfavorable conditions.

Mr. McKinley sent for me during this campaign and said, "I wish you could take your car and go down through those disaffected regions where the farmers are all Republicans, but where they are in distress because corn is fifteen cents and wheat sixty cents a bushel, and they cannot pay the interest on their mortgages and have hard work with their taxes. They think fifty-cent silver, if it has the stamp of the United States upon it, will give them double for their corn, wheat, cattle and hogs, and then they can use it at par to pay the interest on

their mortgages and their taxes, and the other things which they would ordinarily desire they can go without for a long time."

"But," I said, "Mr. McKinley, I am President of a great railroad and with a private car those people would mob me." He said, "Nothing of the kind. It is the shock which will secure their attention and then your talk will convince them of their error." I remember once from a great audience a farmer arose, when I thought I was making an impressive argument against silver, and said, "Chauncey Depew, we are glad to see you, but what right have you to come among us in our distress when the present prices of the things we have to sell do not pay for the raising of them, while we think with fifty-cent silver we will get double the price. But that is not what I complain of; it is that you, President of a great railroad, with a salary of fifty thousand dollars a year, and in a private car, should come down here and attempt to instruct us." I lost the audience at once. There is a favorite song in Yale—"Audacia! Audacia! It is the word I love the best." I stepped to the front of the platform while a great hush came over the audience and said, "Sir, my father gave me my education and profession and then figuratively threw me out of the window to look out for myself and never helped me afterward. I began in a little village, with no capital but my legs, my hands and my head. I had a hard struggle trying cases before country Justices of the Peace, where I would furnish my own horse and wagon and ride ten, fifteen or twenty miles and back after the case was tried for five dollars or less. An opportunity came to me to be the attorney of a railroad. I saw that meant that instead of one client and petty grievances, every one of the thousands of stockholders of the company would be my clients, as represented in the Board of Directors whom they elected every year, so that at one leap instead of having a score or so of clients I got ten thousand.

"A railroad counsel's business is mainly to prevent the strong and masterful men who have come up from the bottom and are running the corporation from violating the law and to keep them straight within the law. Now I am President, and getting a big salary, as you say, and I am here in a private car

which is all part of my compensation. I understand (this I did not know, but it happened to be true) that you have at college a son who is your pride and hope; that after he graduates at the coming Commencement you intend to make him a lawyer and you are making great sacrifices to put him through college and give him his profession. Now, if you are doing that in order that he shall practice law for his health, then I have no right to be here, but if you wish him to start where I did, with the chance of getting where I am, then I do not think that you can criticise me." He yelled so you could hear him a mile, "Go on, Chauncey, you are all right." There is no subject so interesting as what is effective in political discussion before an audience. That little incident, illustrative of the possibilities of American Citizenship for the youth of the land, had more influence than all the argument which could be presented.

Mr. McKinley sent for me again and said, "Mr. Bryan is producing a tremendous impression in our State, and a very dangerous one, not by what he says, but by his endurance. No one has ever gone through our State of Ohio who has spoken so often and so many hours in a single day. The papers are full of his last performance. I want you to go over that route and do the same thing. As you are nearly twice his age, it will be the most effective counterblast I can think of." I did as he requested, starting at seven o'clock in the morning, stopping at the same places, scheduled for the same length of time, with enormous audiences everywhere, and capped it by adding a two-hour speech to a great audience at night. The endurance test as a qualification for the Presidency passed out of the canvass.

With the exception of the war for the preservation of the Union, all our perils under the Constitution have been averted by discussion and debate. A busy people, engrossed in their various occupations, have little time to study serious questions of government. The ability to transact the affairs of the people, the same as the affairs of a corporation, or a firm, or a co-operative society, or a charitable or religious organization, or a labor union, does not depend upon superior intelligence but upon experience and the time which can be taken from

one's other pursuits to serve a large constituency. It is because the lawyer or the plumber, the doctor or the carpenter, the minister or the mason, knows more about his particular business and the performance of it in the interests of others than the whole mass can that society is thus divided, and each employs the others for its comfort, safety and enterprises. So, representative government became established by the selection by busy people of competent men to do this special and most needful work.

At present, however, there is a new agitation which has much force and is progressing rapidly and is exciting in many minds the greatest alarm. We are better educated than ever before and that has created our unrest. At the same time our minds are open to a quicker apprehension of the right and wrong of all propositions by more education.

I have not time here, nor have you, to enter upon this discussion, except to briefly state a few self-evident facts. The appeal made by their projectors to the people for these new policies is that the people do not have their share in their own government. As ours is absolutely a government by the people, with frequent elections to test the capacity and ability of the officials whom they have elected, it is hard to see how the people do not have their share in the government.

Pushed to the extreme, the claim is that the people do not need mayors and boards of aldermen for their cities, or presidents and village trustees for their villages, or boards of supervisors for their counties, or governors and legislatures for their States, or Presidents and Congresses for the general government, nor courts to protect the weak against the strong and to administer justice without fear or favor of power, or wealth or influence. It is proposed as soon as a governor or a congressman or a judge is elected to allow a small percentage of the people to immediately, by petition, suspend his functions and compel him to submit to another election. When an unpopular verdict was rendered the other day, some of the most advanced of this school added to their program also the recall of the jury. These propositions are not new. They were fully argued by Aristotle over twenty-three hundred years ago and declared by him to substitute a government by anarchy

for a government by law. But, then, the new school tells us that there is no virtue or wisdom in the past which we are bound to follow. The old fogies who framed the Constitution are all right in their niches in the temple of fame, but except as models for monuments to ornament parks their usefulness long since departed.

There was an article recently in the papers that the literature class at one of our greatest colleges had been permitted to discard history and the classics and study only recent literature. Aristotle was quoted favorably by one of the authors in the day's lesson, and the professor asked in what period Aristotle wrote. The answer was, "about 1840; certainly not earlier."

I discovered while in the Senate that there are statesmen who, especially on questions in which labor unions are interested, will prepare and present bills which are transparently unconstitutional. For fear that they may lose the authorship, they will not permit any changes. Their colleagues let them have their way on account of the strength of Senatorial courtesy, and also for fear that an attempt to amend will be regarded as hostility to the measure by the labor unions. When the Supreme Court decides the act unconstitutional, the author berates the court and shouts that the people do not govern themselves and wants the judges recalled. He neglects to state that the court invariably says in its decision how that act can be made constitutional and effect the same purpose. The court simply performs its duty and throws back upon the legislative body the necessity of performing its duty intelligently.

We have long had the referendum in our State on Constitutional questions. The Constitutional amendments, however, have been thoroughly prepared and passed by two legislatures before they are submitted, and have been discussed in the press and on the platform. A table made up recently showed this startling result; that on all the constitutional amendments which have been submitted to the people of this State only thirty per cent of those who voted for public officers at the time voted at all on the constitutional amendments, and a majority of this thirty per cent put the amendments into the Constitution, the result showing that a minority of about six-

teen per cent of the voters of the State who voted at the same elections amended the fundamental law. In the submission last year the amendments, most of which were most valuable, were defeated. I met at the polls a doctor of great reputation and extensive practice and a mechanic who does a great deal of work for me. I said, "How about the constitutional amendments?" and each answered substantially, "I have not had time to read and study them, and so voted against them all on the ground that we seem to have a pretty good Constitution and I do not propose to change it without more study and reflection."

I have twice been a Member of the Legislature of our State and twelve years a United States Senator. It has given me much experience in the way laws are made. An act is prepared, more or less carefully, and then passes the scrutiny of a committee, and then attention and debate in the whole house, and then review by the Governor. Even with this care many laws fail to meet the object for which they were enacted, and are amended or repealed at the next session. Under the initiative a small minority, wishing to accomplish some definite object, prepares a statute, and the majority of those who vote, which may be much less than a majority of the whole electorate, command the Legislature to enact and the Governor to sign this law just as this little body prepared it. I know of no device so potent for able, scheming, plausible, unscrupulous and rich men to defraud and injure the public.

With us in New York City the evils of our local government become so great at times that the people arise in their might and men of all parties unite in a reform movement which places clean and able representatives of the people in power. As soon as the reform has accomplished its purpose, the various elements disband, and, except under similar revolutionary efforts years afterward, can never be brought together. This reform movement elected Mayor Gaynor, who has proved to be an admirable executive, Comptroller Prendergast, one of the best financial officers the City has ever had, and the Borough Presidents who are doing excellent work. In addition, it elected several Justices of the Supreme Court. Under the recall, when Tammany had once more come into

power and we had forgotten, as we do so rapidly, the causes which elected the reform ticket, ten per cent of the voters could recall them and within a year they would all be out of office and the old order in authority.

During this period there has been greater progress for universal peace among the nations than in all preceding time, and yet the last year shows how frail, as yet, are ties of peace. The lure of the Orient captured the imagination of Rome three thousand years ago, for the destruction of Carthage, the control of the Mediterranean and the conquest of Africa. After thirty centuries there is a recrudescence of the same spirit, which seizes Tripoli and brings on a war with Turkey, producing international complications, the result of which no one can predict.

I met last summer an old diplomat who was a mine of the secrets of his profession. He told a story which illustrated how near we were, for a while, to the most disastrous war of modern times. The German Emperor, one of the greatest rulers his country ever had, made his delphic utterance that Germany must have her place in the Sun. From the German standpoint, and after her success in acquiring Alsace and Lorraine, there was no country which could be crowded out to make room for Germany, except France. There was a revolt against the Sultan of Morocco and anarchy existed at the Moroccan capital. Germany said to France, "As you have the controlling influence in Morocco, you must restore order, so our people will not be molested in their trade and commerce, or we will do it." France said, "Very well, we will assume the responsibility." The French army marched to Fez, subdued the rebellion, restored order and saved the Sultan. Germany then said, "This success of yours has given France such undue prominence in Africa that Germany must be compensated." But France replied, "We undertook this at your request, and not for conquest, and we will retire at once and move our army back to Algiers." Germany said, "That will not help. Your government has been given prestige, and that is an undue power, and so we must be compensated."

German cruisers appeared in Moroccan ports, and an army of 700,000 men, the strongest, best disciplined and best

equipped in the world, was ready to move across the French frontier on an hour's notice. England emphatically declared herself an ally of France, and Russia was not far behind. It was discovered that the French army was more efficient than since Napoleon, and that there was a patriotic spirit in France which had not been equalled in any period since the Republic. Then began the famous conversations between my old friend Ambassador Cambon and the German foreign minister von Kinderlen-Waechter. Cambon is a delightful conversationalist, but even his powers must have been strained to keep up the interest for hours every day during several months. The conversations resulted, however, in granting France suzerainty over Morocco, which may cause more trouble than it will give profit, and Germany secured its bigger place in the Sun by taking from France a large part of her African possessions.

Contempt for the wisdom of the past is also not new. My father was a plain-spoken man with the characteristics of the earlier people whose ancestors settled along the Hudson River. In his declining years he was accustomed to sit on the piazza, smoke his cigar and read his paper. There were some college students practicing for a boat race in the bay. Returning after their exercises, they jumped onto the wall of the terrace in front of the house and began discussing the superiority of the present generation over the preceding ones. One of them said triumphantly, "My father is seventy-five years old and for his period a very intelligent man, but with the opportunities there are to-day I know more and have more intelligence than my father has at seventy-five," and turning around he shouted to my father, "Well, old gentleman, what do you think of that?" Father's answer was, "I was thinking what a damned fool your father must be."

No American can fail to be a progressive. The story of American progress during the one hundred and twenty-five years under our form of government is a most thrilling narrative. It surpasses in romance and reality the progress of all preceding ages. We only need to study to learn that most of these new notions are not progress, but they were tried thoroughly and ended in lamentable disasters in ancient and

mediæval republics and in the revolutions of modern governments.

Talleyrand, fleeing from the guillotine in the French Revolution, and coming to America, wrote to Madame de Stael that he found here thirty-two religions and only one sauce, but when Talleyrand's countrymen arrive on the occasion of the celebration of the unveiling of the monument to Champlain this week, they will discover that probably we have more forms of religion and religious sects than existed in Talleyrand's time, but we have as many sauces in our restaurants and hotels as are to be found in Paris.

We think there is nothing new under the sun, and Wall Street remarks, as if it was the discovery of that self-sufficient body, that there is danger in advance information, but this wise old Frenchman Talleyrand also wrote that in betting on certainties he lost one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

I met a friend the other day whom I have not seen for a long time and whom I thought had joined the majority because he was a consumptive. He seemed to be as he had been twenty years before, and said, "No, Chauncey, it was not consumption but asthma, and you can live forever if you only have asthma and the grace of God."

One of my experiences while in Europe is to be asked about expatriated Americans who have assumed titles of nobility. A French lady of the bluest blood said to me last summer, "A countryman of yours who claims French descent has sent to us an extraordinary genealogy. It surpasses in distinction that of the oldest and most distinguished of our nobility. Do you know how he came by it?" "Oh, yes," I said, "his ancestor fought gloriously at Agincourt in 1415, and was killed at Waterloo."

Well, my friends, the beautiful lesson which we can draw from these recurring anniversaries and their review of the past is what a glorious world we live in and what a mighty privilege it is to live. We were not created to dream or to long for idle days and hours, but to so work that in its accomplishments we derive pleasure from our work and to so play that our amusements are our health restorers and our sanatoriums, to so love that we can derive comfort and instruction and happiness

from the whole circle, not only of our friends but of our acquaintances, and to have faith so firm in our country and its future that without fear and without doubt, but with hope eternal, we can, after we have done our share as citizens, leave it unimpaired to those who come after us.

(Stenographic Report)

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Pilgrims' Coronation Dinner, Savoy
Hotel, London, Wednesday, June 28, 1911,
in Honor of the Special Ambassador to the
Coronation, Hon. John Hays Hammond.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN: I am very glad to be here because for one reason I had the pleasure of making a speech at the Pilgrims' Dinner in New York for Mr. Hammond as Special Ambassador to the Coronation. I assured him at the time that he would be dined by the Pilgrims' Society in London when he arrived, and again by the Pilgrims' Society in America when he returned, and I advised him that in a mission of peace among men, and especially between English speaking peoples, the thing for him to do to promote goodwill and friendship between the people of the United States and the people of Great Britain was to accept every invitation which was offered him on this side and give as many in return as he could. Now I am happily relieved from the limitations which fall upon a Special Ambassador and upon all Ambassadors. I am three months out of office. There is no Sword of Damocles hanging over my head, but as an independent citizen I can acquire more influence at home by saying imprudent things as a private citizen than I can by talking solid sense. (Laughter.) And there is another special reason which gratifies me in being here to-night, and that is that we are under the Chairmanship of Mr. Balfour—(applause)—because all Americans remember that at a critical period in our history, when we were in danger of having a little difficulty of ours enormously exaggerated by a Continental combine against us, that combine was defeated largely by the personal influence of Mr. Balfour. (Cheers.) Now I wonder—because on occasions like this marvelous Coronation, and I have been at all the demonstrations of Empire which have occurred in Great Britain, there are certain things which occur to a man who has been many years, and I have been so

many that I will not acknowledge them, in touch with public affairs—I wonder whether if John Adams, mentioned by Mr. Birrell, Washington, Hamilton and Jefferson, the four great creators of our Republic, had been re-incarnated and, in five-guinea seats—(laughter)—had witnessed that marvelous procession, with Canada, the elder daughter of the Empire, at the head, they would have regretted that they were not at the head, as they would have been if we had not separated. My impression is that they would not. (Laughter.) If I was an Ambassador and had been in jail, I would not have said that, but what they would have thought is that in the evolution of the two countries which has occurred since the separation, each carrying out its own ideas in its own way to its manifest destiny, they have worked upon each other in the development of liberty as they never could have done if they had been together. (Applause.)

Now, Daniel Webster, who was the greatest of our orators, in a remarkable figure, as I remember it, said: "Whose morning drumbeat, following the sun, and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England." His idea, eighty years ago, was that those martial strains meant power, the power of the white race over subject peoples. But the music which went round the world on the day of the Coronation was entirely different, because it was an anthem which reached a continuous circle of the same blood and same people, saying that the succession of independent states belting the Globe were united in one Empire in a glory and strength greater than men of Webster's period ever dreamed of. (Applause.) Now we over in our country, I do not know how it is here, are considerably disturbed on the subject of germs. (Laughter.) We have, in a measure, exterminated the mosquito, and just before I left some scientific health people had organized in every village a society called "Swat the House-fly." (Laughter.) During nearly eighty years the microbes have been fighting and having a jolly time in my blood, but, so far as I know, without any disturbance to myself; and neither my digestion nor appetite nor health have ever been interfered with by germs or microbes. I dismiss,

therefore, the health side; but it occurred to me as I was coming across the Channel, and reading the marvelous accounts of the Coronation ceremonies, that there is something in the germ in the historical sense.

Up in Litchfield, Connecticut, is an old Puritan church, and the Pastor of that church, during the Revolutionary War, preached a sermon when some American troops were going through to join General Washington at West Point, and he was so proud of it that he entered it on the Parish Register. I read it there; it was a long sermon. General Howe was coming across the ocean with reinforcements for the British in New York, and the good parson said: "Oh, Lord, I pray Thee that on that fleet Thy lightnings will play and Thy thunders will roar, and that the waters may rise and bury them in the deep, and that they may go to that reward of eternal fire where they will be properly received, for Thy glory and the safety of Thy Saints, among this Thy people." (Loud laughter.) Now that germ has grown, so that Brother Birrell wrote 7,000 words describing the procession to a great New York newspaper, and so that in every considerable place in the United States the churches were open for religious services for the health and prosperity of the British people and the King just consecrated. (Applause.) Now these germs, the germ of Runnymede, for instance, when those glorious old athletes who did not think learning amounted to anything except for the parson and the lawyer, and therefore with the hilts of their swords put their mark upon the seals of Magna Charta, they enclosed in that charter a germ which in the evolution of the centuries produced the principles which Jefferson wrote in the Declaration of Independence, which Lincoln wrote in the proclamation emancipating the slaves, and which for you has created a democracy which, while retaining the forms and ceremonies of the past, has so united Mediævalism with Modernism that you have a democratic government more democratic in its immediate responsiveness to the people than any which exists.

Well, my friends, since I have been here I have heard that there is a fear, which mars somewhat the pleasure of our visit, that we are seeking Canada. Now I want to assure

you that there are no signs of that. Uncle Sam does not mean anything of the kind, and is not serious in his intentions, though rather tumultuous in his ardor, and the beautiful Lady of the Snows up North understands him perfectly. This reciprocity treaty shows that she is quite able to take care of herself, and of contributing something to the general welfare of the Empire to which she belongs. We have acquired within the last ten years Hawaii and Porto Rico and the Philippines, and we think we have not, but still we have, Cuba. (Loud laughter.) So we are in a position on this question of annexation and of not wanting any more territory of the opulently gifted lady in the sense of *avoirdufois*, who was a suburbanite, whom I saw getting on the train one day with her arms full of bundles, as suburbanite ladies always are, and as she put a foot on the step of the car one fell off, and when she picked it up two fell off. A neighbor said to her, "I am detained in the City to-night, may I add this parcel to yours for my wife?" and she answered: "No, I have troubles enough of my own." (Laughter.)

I have noticed also that there is no difference in the evolution of Parliamentary life between Great Britain and the United States. If I may be reminiscent for a moment, about twenty-five years ago Lord Rosebery invited me to go after dinner to a Meeting in the interests of Empire—Colonials and the like. It was a small room and they were principally colonial bishops. There was no talk but plenty of champagne and cigars. In fact, it was a spiritual meeting. (Laughter.) Well, there was not a word of it 'in next morning's papers. Twenty-five years have passed, and in the hall of Rufus, the seat of the mother of Parliaments, this same Lord Rosebery recently presided at a great banquet to the colonial representatives of these empires in themselves, yet all affiliated in interest and patriotism with the central government, working out their own destinies, united somewhat as our States are, with our central government. That assembly listened to one of the happiest speeches from Lord Rosebery, one of the most gifted of your orators, voicing the sentiment of Empire for Great Britain. Mr. Gladstone once said to me that if he could select from among all the years of recorded time a half

century, the half century he would select would be that in which he had lived, because it was a half century of emancipation. If he could have lived twenty-five years more and witnessed this progress of which he never dreamed, he would, I think, have felt that the half century which closed on the day when King George V. was anointed and crowned was infinitely grander than the half century of which he was so proud. I have been listening to speeches in the United States Senate for the last twelve years, and I read your speeches and I am still alive. I notice that the development of politics among statesmen and politicians is the same with you as it is with us, until a question is decided. In one of the last debates in the Senate when I was there six months ago, a Senator was evolving his ideas on a critical question in the country which was specially acute in his own State, and he was a candidate for re-election. (Laughter.) He was on the fence, not, as one of your statesmen happily has said, with his flag nailed to it. A witty colleague of mine said "That speech reminds me of an old farmer in my State who came to town carrying a family clock, and said to the maker, 'I do not know what is the matter with this clock. When it strikes twelve and the hand points to four, I know it is half past two, and nobody knows it but me.'" Well, my friend President Taft has done many happy things since he has been President of the United States. He has succeeded in having more of his policies enacted into laws than almost any President since Lincoln, his plea for International Arbitration marks a new era of peace among nations. He has been singularly happy in his appointments to office. His appointments to the Supreme Court of the United States have led to that wonderful decision in the Standard Oil and other cases which have clarified the air and made our old Constitution good for another 125 years, because now all great problems are to be judged by the light of reason. The foolish virgins were put out of business because they had no oil. Standard Oil is to be put out of business because they have too much. (Laughter.) One of the happiest appointments of President Taft was when he determined to wipe out that jail record of Hammond by making him Special Ambassador on this oc-

casion. We, as Americans, believe he could have made no better selection. It was my privilege to know for many years the late King very well, and to appreciate, as only those could who knew him socially, that he was the best representative of an English gentleman or a gentleman of any race; that he was the most hospitable of hosts, the most charming of companions, the most genial of men; and that, so far as America and Americans were concerned, he was on all occasions bringing all the power of his great place as Prince of Wales and as King to the bettering of the relations between our two countries. No man or woman arrived here from America who was worthy of his recognition as an artist or who was striving for some distinction, that he did not lend every aid to put that person upon a platform where that talent could be recognized. As a diplomatist, no one did so much to bring about peace between Great Britain and other countries. Now, the hope of every American represented by our Special Ambassador, and our regular Ambassador, represented by the unanimous voice of the Press of the United States, is that the popularity with his own people and that the success as a King of George V. will be as great as, and if possible greater than, was his father's. (Applause.)

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW at the Banquet Given by the American Chamber of Commerce of Paris, France, July 4, 1911.

Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, who had just returned from the United States on a mission of peace by arbitration, had closed a brilliant speech describing his visit and the result of his mission, when Mr. Depew was asked to reply.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: I dislike at this late hour to break the charm of the address which has just been delivered by my friend Baron d'Estournelles de Constant. No itinerary of the United States will ever be perfect which does not include his description of our cities. No booming Western City, especially Denver and Seattle, will be worthy of the ambition which they have to outrival New York, unless they scatter a leaflet reading "See what the baron says about us."

The following little story about Boston and Chicago, I think, fully illustrates the merits and virtues of both. A Boston man found himself in Heaven, and when Saint Peter called his attention to all the wonderful things there, he said, "Yes, very fine, but it isn't Boston." When a Chicago man was being led about the other world he said to his attendant, "I did not know that Chicago was so much like Heaven," and the attendant replied, "Well, you are not in Heaven."

I am not surprised that after the visit which our friend, the baron, paid to Salt Lake City he no longer keeps quiet on the subject of the girls. Really, the gentleman from Boston Chamber of Commerce voiced the sentiment of the evening when he said that here in Paris we Americans feel at home. There has been no missionary going to the United States in the interest of peace and amity, no missionary recalling to Americans what the French did for us, no missionary since Lafayette, who has received such a welcome, because of the people whom he represented and the message he brought, as did the orator who has just taken his seat,

our friend the Baron d'Estournelles de Constant. There are two places in the world where we Americans can celebrate the Fourth of July with absolute unanimity. Every country celebrates its natal day or its one great event within its own boundaries, and among its own people, but it is possible for Americans to celebrate their natal day with enthusiasm on French territory and within the boundaries of our own country. People speak of reciprocity as if it were a new sentiment, a new doctrine recently discovered, but reciprocity is 125 years. It was reciprocity which in our darkest hour, when we were without funds, when our soldiers were bare-footed, when we were nearly out of ammunition and guns, that brought to us the French Army within, and the French Navy without, and money and credit.

Now I am not a believer in germs. You know it is a fixed American idea to have germs. In America everybody is afraid to drink water or eat food, because of germs. I have lived until my seventy-eighth year, and I have eaten and drunk everything that has come my way, and there has been going on in my veins that battle which they say is continually raging between germs of one hard name and their enemies with another. If one succeeds you are a "Gonner," and if another is victorious you are safe, but here I am, so far as I can see without impaired digestion or vitality, and I only know that the results are entirely satisfactory. However, speaking about germs, there is a germ I do believe in, and that is the germ in the origin of nations and their development. The most noted germ that has ever come into this world since Christ, is the germ of liberty which appeared in the United States, and was voiced in the Declaration of Independence, but that germ compressed in this sentence by Jefferson that "All men are created equal with certain inalienable rights among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" meant little at that time anywhere. In the United States was a landed aristocracy, we had no universal suffrage, suffrage was dependent upon property, and France at that time was an absolute monarchy, with a few philosophers writing about theoretical liberty. But that germ in the course of 135 years has, in our country, put us at the head of all nations, as the

most populous, the most wealthy, the most liberty enjoying, the happiest people in the world. That germ came over here to France with Lafayette, Rochambeau and other French soldiers returning from America, and it produced the French Revolution, which destroyed absolutism in France, and through many revolutions it has at last in our day led to a republic which will be as perpetual as our own.

The Baron very happily spoke of dreams and sentiment. I have always been a believer in dreams and sentiment. I believe that sentiment is the one thing which has moved the world more than anything else. Lord Rosebery, the most eloquent of British orators, made a speech, partly serious, partly badinage, in which he said it was a mistake for the American Colonies to have separated from Great Britain, because had they remained, they would have drawn the King to New York, Windsor Castle somewhere in Central Park, and Buckingham Palace in City Hall Park. Here comes in the sentiment, and the dream. Canada has been a self-governing colony just as long as the United States has been an independent Republic, Australia for more than fifty years has been a self-governing colony. Canada has a territory as large as the United States, two thirds of which is quite as productive, yet she has two millions of inhabitants less than the State of New York. Australia has a territory as large and as productive as the United States, but has a population less than New York City, and four millions less than the State of New York; four millions in Australia, seven millions in Canada, and ninety millions in the United States! What is the reason? Emigration from Europe has created all these countries. People left Europe to find civil and religious liberty, but they have civil and religious liberty in Canada and Australia as well as in the United States. People left Europe to be able to govern themselves, but they govern themselves as well in Canada and Australia as they do in the United States, and they have every opportunity we enjoy but one, and that is a shadow. That shadow is the sovereignty of Great Britain. It is not exercised, except for their protection. Great Britain taxes herself for their defence, but there is over them the shadow of a power, in whose administration they have no

voice, while in our country, on the contrary, ninety millions feel independent and happy because with us there is no shadow before the sun of liberty. Its beams shine undimmed on every part of our land, and each citizen is a sovereign.

We have grown a good deal since you of the American Chamber of Commerce of Paris left to settle over here, and we have many ideas there that you would grasp if you came home more frequently. I was immensely impressed with this the other day in London. In England every newspaper praises the King. I read newspapers of all kinds, of all shades of opinion, and most of their columns were devoted editorially to praising and reporting the movements and popularity of the King, while in America no newspaper would consider itself worthy of circulation if it did not criticise the President. And yet every nation must have some ideals which the newspapers won't criticise, and which will inspire loyalty and love in the citizen. What is ours? It is the old Constitution which has stood by us without change for 125 years. England has had twenty changes in her constitution in that time. France has had fifteen or twenty new ones, Germany has had any number, even Russia and Turkey are recognizing the progress of liberty. But that old Constitution of ours prepared by those gentlemen in knee breeches, buckles, and powdered wigs, stood for three millions of people along the line of our Atlantic Coast, and is equally able to take care of ninety millions within American Territory, and ten millions in the Philippines, and the islands of the sea without, and it has not been changed in its essence in 125 years. That is our ideal, but recently there have been gentlemen with us who delight to call themselves "Progressive" and "Insurgents." I was associated with them for twelve years in the Senate very pleasantly, but publicly they believe in unrest. They have been attacking the Constitution because they say all men do not have equal opportunities. Then came the trial of the trusts, but recently the Supreme Court of the United States has rendered a decision which has swept the platform out from under them, and made the Constitution good for another 125 years. That great decision says that every trade combination in the United States which may be re-

garded as unlawful, must be judged by the light of reason, and if individuals or the corporations do not possess proper reasons for their business they can go to the Circuit Court and be advised. So there is no danger of confiscation in the United States any more. If that decision had sustained the contention of the lawyers of the government that every combination whatsoever, whether good or bad, is illegal, we would have had chaos, and the greatest panic the world ever knew, until we could have readjusted ourselves, but in the light of reason we are all right. In the light of reason the foolish virgins had no oil, so they were not allowed to the wedding feast, and by the light of reason the Standard Oil had too much—and must reorganize.

We have another thing in our country in which we are superior to all others, and that is though we have parties we have no political animosities. The representatives of both parties—in the Senate and the House of Representatives discuss in an academic way the things upon which they differ without personal rancor or enmity. But when I was over in England the other day, I discovered that they had got to a point where we were at the close of the Civil War, with the same passions and the same bitterness—especially among the women. When the women are bitter in politics, you may make up your mind that a remarkable evolution is in progress. I was sitting the other night at dinner talking to a charming Englishwoman of high social position and rank and of broad sympathies and benevolence, who is doing good in every way that will benefit her people, and somehow, as always happens now in England, the conversation switched round to the present political crisis, and the enormous impending changes in their constitution—including the abolition of the Upper Chamber, and she said: "Do you know I wish we were back in the good old days. I would like to assist in hanging every member of the Government, and as for Winston Churchill I would like to see him tortured first, and then put on the string." I like Winston Churchill and respect his great abilities. I was fond of his father, and am a great admirer of his mother. He is a brilliant young man destined to a most promising future. I am a great admirer of

Asquith. He is a very able statesman, and as an American I should feel bad to see him hung on a string. We have no such sentiment as that in the United States. Over in London they said to me: "How can you talk of arbitration and peace when you are trying to steal Canada indirectly?" Great Scott, gentlemen, we have got ice enough of our own. We keep eggs in cold storage for a year, and we have our own problems, which are quite sufficient. We have the Philippines—whose people say they want to be free, in a way that will permit them to do as they please, but leave us the expense of maintaining their government and protecting them. We have Guam, Hawaii, and Porto Rico, and we sometimes think we have got rid of Cuba. I also said to my English friends: "We have the South American Republics, who get all they can of English, German, and French money, and then when a Dreadnought goes over to collect it, they say to Uncle Sam: "The sacred Monroe Doctrine must be safeguarded by you." Our inventors at home are in the way of helping everybody. There is Mr. Burbank, the wizard of California. Not long ago he visited Pittsburgh, and when he went home he commenced practising on the succulent which we all love so well—the pea—and he has succeeded in producing a square pea which will not roll off the blade of multi-millionaires who still eat with a knife.

Well, my friends, I think the sentiment of this Fourth of July Banquet—I have been to nearly all that this Chamber has celebrated, and each one has had some sentiment of its own—all of them for international commerce and goodwill—but this Fourth of July Banquet voices another and more universal sentiment than any of its predecessors, and its grand apostle is our guest here to-night—Baron d'Estournelles de Constant. This is a celebration largely in the interest of Peace by Arbitration. Commencing with Abraham Lincoln I have known every President of the United States very well, known them in their peculiarities, in their faults, in their good qualities, and in their great ones. For everyone of them was a great man, or he could not have been by the suffrage of the American people President of the United States. But of all those Presidents, how many will be remembered 100 years

from now? Lincoln, whom I first knew, yes, so long as the Republic endures. Grant? Yes, but among the rest! Now we have a President who differs from all others I have known, because of characteristics I have never met in a politician anywhere, and I think it is because his education has been not political but judicial. He has been most of his life on the bench, but there it has been his habit to listen patiently to the arguments of both sides, to render his decision according to the law and the Constitution, and then dismiss it, never thinking of himself one moment, nor how that decision would affect his own fortunes, and so in the three years in which Taft has been President he has succeeded in securing the enactment into law of more of his recommendations than almost any President of my time, and yet the underlying sentiment with him has been, "This is right. The majority of my people may be against it, but I think they are mistaken. My judgment is it is the best for the country. I cannot for a moment consider its effect upon my future." Mr. Taft, a man unaffected by passion, partisanship, or faction at home has looked abroad over the great field of international amity, brought to his attention while Governor of the Philippines, and has set forth to the world (and that is to be his monument) a Message of Peace. While all nations are building larger battleships, increasing the number of their armies, and offering the highest rewards for inventions in destructive machinery and explosives, this calm Executive of the United States conceives the idea that possibly even now there may be brought about such relations between the different countries of the world that war may be abolished and peace established, and commerce and amity be the governing principles of international relations. Taft will live, because a principle like this, once started never stops, and as President of the United States he has already secured the cordial assent of Great Britain and France, and he will live because he has brought into the relations of the people of the world a recognition of the principle which was founded on Calvary, and which has never yet been realized. Peace among nations and Brotherhood among men.

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at a Meeting in Memory of Cornelius N.
Bliss, held by the Republican Club of the
City of New York, on Sunday Afternoon,
November 5, 1911.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: It is a most appropriate and fitting function of this Club that it should meet to pay tribute to the memory of Cornelius N. Bliss. He was one of the oldest of its members and one of its Presidents. He was one of the most active of our associates in the public work of this organization. The principles for which the club stands and for which it has always labored were the ones in which he firmly believed. That belief was not perfunctory nor found its activity in the mere expression of opinion. He thought business prosperity and the employment of labor and capital and content and happiness among the people were dependent upon these principles being crystallized into laws. With that view he gave without stint both personal effort and contributions for the promotion of the cause.

When he came to New York in 1866, forty-five years ago, mercantile conditions in this city were such that a newcomer had only a fighting chance in the field. Our merchants had a national and international reputation and were jealous to the point of active hostilities of any competition in their various lines. A. T. Stewart, the Grinnells, Howland, Aspinwall, and a few others, were the merchant princes of the times. The financial situation made the conduct of enterprises, and especially the starting of new ones, exceedingly hazardous. We had just come out of the Civil War and the country had not adjusted itself to normal conditions. We had an irredeemable currency and as its necessary adjunct the wildest speculation. The methods now of limiting competition are for those who are engaged in the various branches of the production of articles based upon a common product of raw material to combine into great corporations. Against this

method of either preventing or of limiting competition, Congress, Legislatures and courts are actively at war. Methods of accomplishing the same results forty-five years ago were more effective and much simpler. The day of the great corporations had not arrived, but the day of the masterful man was here, as it has been for thousands of years and will be for thousands of years to come, in every community, great or small. A. T. Stewart was the pioneer in what is now known as the department store. He was a genius in his line and his shrewdest and keenest commercial sense was based upon a liberal education. When a competitor was doing a prosperous business in one of the lines which he sold; he immediately investigated his condition. If it was cottons or silks or woollens, or what not, that was this merchant's specialty, Stewart soon became familiar with his financial standing, with the quality of his goods and with the elements of his success. Then by wide advertisements he would sell that special product away below cost, relying upon the profit in other departments to make up his own losses at the same time that this ruinous competition drove the competitor into bankruptcy. If he was a man of ability who was desirable, Stewart would annex him as an employe, but if there was no place the poor fellow joined the ranks of the unsuccessful and the unfortunate. It is an interesting question whether this merciless method which no law could reach is better than combinations in a corporation, provided that corporation's activities are governed by proper supervision by a bureau of the government to prevent monopoly and restraint of trade.

Mr. Bliss had to meet, as his business grew, the full force of this terrific onslaught. It shows how thoroughly he had studied his field, how well he was entrenched in his sources of supply and distribution that he successfully resisted the attack and compelled recognition from these powerful interests as one who was able both to take care of himself, and, if the struggle became too intense, to make it exceedingly uncomfortable for them.

The frightful waste of the Civil War, the wild speculation which followed, the trafficking in legislation to secure franchises to be madly promoted, culminated in six years after Mr.

Bliss entered upon business here in the disastrous panic of 1873. Only one like it, that of 1837, had any parallel with us and few had been known in the whole history of finance and commerce. The Stock Exchange closed, banks suspended, mercantile houses went into bankruptcy, and thousands were reduced from affluence to poverty and other thousands saw business which they had spent a lifetime in building up shattered to pieces. A statistician has proved that only one out of two hundred of the men who enter mercantile business in New York survive the strain and competition. The rest sooner or later succumb. But in the panic of 1873 this average of one in two hundred went to a point where it might safely be said that more than two-thirds of the business men came to grief. It was eminently a time of the survival of the fittest. Only level heads who had resisted the speculations in which vast fortunes were made and lost between the close of the Civil War and the panic, far-sighted brains which had foreseen the storm and prepared for it, were equal to the emergency. It is a tribute to the sagacity of Mr. Bliss, to the standing which he had attained in these few years with the banks, and among his associates and competitors, that he came out of this terrific struggle with his credit enhanced and his position invulnerable.

After that his life as a merchant was one of widening influence and operations. The financial disturbances which shook the country, disturbed business and ruined individuals and firms, growing out of the resumption of specie payments, of the silver craze, of the gold standard, were all foreseen and provided for by this able, accomplished and masterful man. So that years before his death he was, in its best sense, a merchant prince and had so systematized, co-ordinated and perfected his great business that he could give more and more of his time to public affairs and to his duties as a citizen. It is this phase of his career as a public citizen that especially interests us. The New York merchant and business man is proverbially neglectful of civic duties and unwilling to assume the burdens of civic responsibilities.

When I was a young man I was given a dinner by the leading merchants of New York for something which I had done

for the city as a Member of the Legislature. I think it was in 1863. Having lived all my life in the country where everybody participates in political activities, I was amazed to discover that of the thirty gentlemen at this table, representing three-fourths of the wealth and great business of the city, not one of them ever voted except in Presidential elections, none of them belonged to political clubs or party organizations. All of them united in vigorous denunciations of the corruptions of public life and the untrustworthiness of men who held public office. These were conditions which they as a united body could have at any time corrected, but they not only refused to serve, they put a ban upon the professional or business activities of those who were willing to enter upon the duties of public life.

Mr. Bliss represented an entirely different class of great merchants. Following the injunction to "Be diligent in business, serving the Lord" meant for him in practice diligence in business as much as any successful man, but he believed the best service he could render to the Lord outside his business duties was active, intelligent and helpful citizenship. He believed that neither his business as a manufacturer and a merchant nor any other would be permanently successful unless a protective tariff, a sound currency and the gold standard was part of the law of the land. He believed that it was his highest duty to labor for the success of the party and the candidates which would secure this legislation. He recognized, as few men did then, but as everybody does now, the intimate relation there is between business and politics. Almost immediately on becoming a resident of our city he joined the local Republican organization. Throughout his whole life he was an organization party man and at the same time a practical reformer. Twice during his career, when the county organization seemed inefficient or corrupt, he organized and headed committees which succeeded in bringing about the necessary reform. With rare courage for one whose business could be so easily affected by municipal legislation and municipal officials, he organized and headed committees for the purification of the government of this great city.

In all this long and active career, extending over half a century, he never was an office seeker. He believed that office

should come to a man and not be solicited. The party wanted at different times so rare a character to strengthen its position by becoming its candidate for the various offices within its gift, but he declined everything except at the earnest solicitation of President McKinley of the Secretaryship of the Interior. The unselfishness of his political activities is best illustrated by the positions which he did take. For four successive Presidential campaigns he was the Treasurer of the National Committee. There is no place in party work which involves so much labor, so much criticism and so little applause. He accepted the treasurership of the National Committee in the second Harrison campaign because he saw that there had come about one of those revulsions in public feeling which might lead to disaster to the party he loved and to the principles he considered essential for the public welfare. The people wanted a change and no effort could check their desire. The change came and he saw in its results all the business disasters which he had been predicting his active life. He saw what he regarded as the greatest bulwark of prosperity of business in the tariff assailed and changed. He saw the closing of mills and multitudes thrown out of employment by results brought about by legislation which he abhorred. When the campaign came for the first election of McKinley he again accepted the treasurership, because he believed that a return to old policies was the salvation of his country and of himself in his business relations. No one contributed more to the success of President McKinley and the restoration of Republican policies than did Mr. Bliss.

We are a peculiar people. We are fond of experiments in every department of life. We take larger chances in business and greater risks in experiment than any industrial nation in the world. Prosperity does not satisfy us; we want more. Within certain almost defined cycles we as a people need to go to school—the school of experience. A generation comes upon the stage which has forgotten or is too young to remember the teachings of the past. When these periods arrive, and they will in the future as they have in the past, the lesson which is taught by disasters to business, to employment and to every form of activity, will bring about again the practice of

the principles which have proved successful and they will prevail until the period of experiment has again arrived.

So, Mr. Bliss, feeling that the first four years of McKinley had not yet consolidated into permanency the measures in which he believed, undertook this same difficult and disagreeable task for the third time and in the Roosevelt campaign for the fourth of Treasurer of the National Committee. He applied to this delicate and perilous position principles upon which he had conducted his own business. The books were perfectly kept and the accounting was complete. Not a breath of suspicion, not a charge of any kind, ever assailed the treasurer in these four great campaigns in which millions were raised, part of it by himself, and all of it passed through his hands.

There is one place in the Cabinet which is in a measure the despair of every President. All others of his advisers but the Secretary of the Interior can win applause and fame. But the Secretary of the Interior has against him constant pressure, and if he is upright, aggressive and intelligent, he will receive the virulent abuse and misrepresentation of the most powerful interests in the country. Land hunger would sacrifice every right of the Indian and take from him the land upon which he lives and the home in which he dwells. If the Secretary objects he can expect only investigating committees and unlimited abuse. The exploiters of national resources wish to monopolize them and they form syndicates so powerful and backed by so much newspaper support and Congressional influence that if the Secretary of the Interior fails to yield to their demands he becomes the enemy of progress and the foe of the people. A large number of Indian contractors and Indian agents, who engage in practices which are often corrupt and sometimes inhuman, have powerful friends to protect them and easy ways of reaching the public ear against an uncompromising public official. It was to clean this Augean stable that President McKinley summoned to his aid the great reputation, incorruptible integrity, unsurpassed business judgment and executive ability of Cornelius N. Bliss. When this high but disagreeable task had been completed to the entire satisfaction of the President, the Secretary of the Interior asked to be re-

leased that he might return to his neglected personal affairs, and at the same time give that large measure which he had always so freely bestowed as a private citizen to the public service.

Gentlemen, we of this Club who met him in the intimacy of this family circle saw in the successful man of business not the uncompromising reformer, not the rigid financier, not the active politician, but the most genial, companionable and lovable of men. Going to his reward when nearing four score, he has left behind him a superb example for American youth and filled a brilliant page in the history of his country.

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Dinner of the New England Society of
New York, December 22, 1911, in Response
to the Toast : " The Puritan Survival."

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: For over forty years it has been my privilege to attend, more or less frequently, the annual dinners of the New England Society of New York. At these meetings I have heard many admirable presentations in response to Forefathers' Day, but few, if any of them, reached the high level of the speech just delivered by Dr. Frothingham. He has caught and portrayed the spirit of the founders, and its influence in the development of government in succeeding generations, with a comprehensive and broad-minded grasp of the situation which will place in our records a classic and a model. Such an occasion is suggestive with reminiscence. There have been famous nights with this Society of national and international significance. In that period great orators from all over the country have here sprung into fame, increased their reputations or lost them. The finest original wit of our period, who was President, and a frequent speaker, was William M. Evarts. In variety and genius in portraying and arousing emotions and spontaneous eloquence, we had here Henry Ward Beecher. The list would include nearly every man whose name has been associated with American history during the last half century.

I recall one night which was significant, dramatic and historical. The passions of the Civil War were not wholly dissipated. It was still possible to arouse enthusiasm and to make political capital upon slavery and disunion. General Sherman in an impromptu speech, full of that nervous fire which was his characteristic, threw a picture on the wall of the disbandment of the Union Army, the triumphant march of the soldiers past the President and the return of the veterans to prosperous homes and their various vocations. It was a picture of grand triumph that equalled the historic description

of the wonderful processions of Roman conquerors down the Appian Way into the imperial city. A young man from the South came next. He drew a most marvelous and pathetic picture of the Confederate soldiers, beaten but undismayed, ragged and foot-sore, going back to farms which had been ravaged by the armies of both sides, the fences down, the houses gone, the stock disappeared, and then, speaking as a young man for the new South, he pictured the regeneration which had come in agriculture, in industries, in the development of resources, in the creation of cities, towns, hamlets and homes out of all this misery by these heroes of the same race but inspired by different ideas. By that speech Henry W. Grady leaped into national fame. But these two addresses, one from the great soldier and the other from the representative of the new South, published everywhere and read in every household, advanced the cause of reunion between the two sections of the country more than could have been accomplished by half a century of discussion and legislation.

In a way this night to which I have referred illustrates the effectiveness of the dominant principles of the Pilgrim idea—"free speech." The Pilgrims were reformers. They were about the only real ones of their period. Madame Roland, standing at the foot of the scaffold, as she ascended the steps cried out:

"Oh, Liberty! in thy name what crimes are committed."

So reform, which is always popular, is the well-worn ladder of ambition, demagoguery and greed. There is the reformer who quickly grasps the passion of the hour and by fanning it into flame becomes its leader and gets into Congress or higher. There is the other who is part demagogue and part crank and wholly an agitator, who contributes little to the progress of the world; but there is last the man of foresight, courage and patriotism, who is always in advance of his time, not so far ahead but his contemporaries can catch up, but who is far enough to blaze the way and lead them by reason toward light and liberty. To this latter class the Pilgrims preëminently belong. They lived in an age when might made right, when it was considered entirely proper to seize the goods of others if you had the power and needed them. But when the

Mayflower anchored off Cape Cod and a boat with the explorers went ashore and the Indians fled leaving behind the corn which they had stored for the winter, it was promptly appropriated and taken on board the ship. This was in accordance with the principles of the age. The Pilgrims needed the corn, without it they could not have planted for the next year's harvest, but they left a note saying that they would pay for it whenever the Indians called and presented proper vouchers. The fact that they left no address did not militate against the merit of the case. It was the beginning of that beneficent principle, now recognized everywhere among civilized nations, of the sanctity of property in the hands of the weak. Though the old rule still prevails in the partition of Africa by the great powers—thank Heaven, this government of the Pilgrims has no part in that expropriation.

In the Pilgrim period all governments had one set of laws for kings and nobles and another for the people, one set of rights for caste and privilege and another for those who had neither. But the Pilgrims in the cabin of the Mayflower in their immortal charter said, "We will found a government of just and equal laws." That was a principle which was understandable, and again the Pilgrims were in advance, but not too far in advance, of the period in which they lived and labored. It took a long time, even in our own development, to work out that principle. The Puritan who came afterward to the Massachusetts colonies repudiated it utterly. But there is nothing so dynamic as an idea which has in it the principal of generation and regeneration. Winthrop said, "If all are to be Governors, who is to govern." There being no lawyers, New England existed for a hundred years without lawyers, and as they recognized the necessity of government they confided it to their ministers and created a theocracy. The government of the ministers demonstrated the necessity in the enactment of laws of the assistance of lawyers. They banished Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson because they preached religious toleration, and in banishing them the dynamics of religious toleration began to expand and in less than half a century that had become part of both Pilgrim and Puritan policy.

These hard-headed, hard-working, close-thinking forefathers believed in representative government. Though they had the town meeting, a perfect democracy, for their village and local affairs, yet they felt that there should be trained men selected and elected to make their laws, so they left it first to the clergy and then selected in their localities the men who could give the time and who were best equipped to be members of the Legislatures and Congress, and to be governors and judges.

In some of the newer States they are getting away from this idea. We are told now that the best government is that which goes to the whole people with all its laws and all its legislation, that the initiative, the referendum and the recall place the people in possession of the power which they have lost through selecting men to be their governors, their judges, their legislators, their mayors and their aldermen.

I met the other night at dinner the Governor of Oregon, the foremost State in putting into practice these policies, a charming, capable and eloquent gentleman. His mission, and that of the Governors, was not political but to make known the products of their States. Of course, one of the most attractive is the Oregon apple. He showed how Oregon reversed her new principle of government by mass meeting in placing apples on the market. The farmers select a committee of experts. The individual farmer is not permitted to market as of old, when his good apples were on top, the moderate ones in the middle and the bad in the rest of the barrel. These experts, representatives of the mass, select the best apples and sell them as such and the second best and sell them as such, and make the rest into hard cider to be drunk in prohibition communities. Now, the distinguished, eloquent and able Senator from Oregon is the best advocate and exponent of the political practices of his State. His view condensed is that the composite citizen, which means the whole mass, is more intelligent for executive duties than any governor, or for judicial duties than any judge, or for legislation than any legislator, and, therefore, we need only a framework of officers without power or authority to be instructed by this composite man. So, instead of having able executives and learned judges and tried

and experienced legislators, these officers are rubber stamps for the composite man. But the composite man, acting as a mass upon subjects that he cannot possibly act upon intelligently if he attends to his business, is necessarily composed of the selected apples, the specked apples and the bad apples. His selection of representatives is usually excellent, but his executive acts, judicial decisions and legislation under such conditions are permeated with the inebriating qualities of the headiest hard cider.

Our forefathers in developing the country left the largest freedom of action to the individual citizen. The common law was the spirit of their jurisprudence and judicial decisions. Their legislation was to promote agriculture and industries and develop resources. They were not equal to the enactment of a Sherman Anti-Trust Law, and would not have understood it if they had been. Shakespeare says, "Some are born great, some achieve greatness and some have greatness thrust upon them." John Sherman was an excellent Senator and a distinguished Secretary of the Treasury, but he would have dropped into the oblivion of Senators and Secretaries of the Treasury out of office and been forgotten except that the trust law which bears his name has kept him before the public more than any statesman of his period and made him immortal. Now comes a few days ago ex-Senator Edmunds, the distinguished Chairman of the Judiciary Committee which had charge of that bill, perfected, reported and passed it, who informs us that there is not in it one single line of John Sherman. This is not going to take away the fame of Sherman; resting solely upon a myth it is in no more danger than the name of America though not discovered by Amerigo Vespucci. There is not a single thing about that law which is not Pilgrim or Puritan, but while it affects every industry in the country, it has lain practically dormant for twenty years. The main reason being that nobody really understood it. National Conventions of both parties in their platforms resolved that it must be amended, but it was such a fetish in the public mind that one party was afraid to touch it and the other daren't. It was interpreted at one time to prohibit all big business and restore the country to the retail store, the windmill and the mill pond.

That would have prevented all development. It has at other times been differently interpreted. So far as doing business under it was concerned during these twenty years, the business man felt that they were in a position which was described by that famous revivalist at the beginning of the last century, Lorenzo Dow. He preached a sermon in Peekskill, which was a strong Calvinistic neighborhood, the echo of which still lingers in the hills and valleys. In this he said in regard to predestination that its practical effect was "You will and you won't; you shall and you shan't; you can and you can't; you will be damned if you do, and you will be damned if you don't." Happily, now the Supreme Court of the United States has shown that it has more courage and more wisdom than Congress, and has declared that the shackles shall be taken away from legitimate and rightful business by interpreting the law according to the light of reason, which means the common law, and so we get back to the foundation of the Pilgrim Fathers.

It is unfortunate for business that we not only legislate after the horse is stolen, but we permit and encourage first the stealing of the horse. Take the formation of the steel trust, for instance, and I am neither advocating nor defending that corporation. There never was so much publicity with any business. Its magnitude attracted the attention and fired the imagination not only of this country but of the world. The newspapers daily had columns describing the processes of organization, the plants belonging to other corporations and to individuals and firms which were bought and how much was paid for them and what the profits were to the seller and the purchasers. Even Mr. Carnegie, going out of business as he was by that merger, suspended his usual rule of reticence and told the world how much he received for his interests and what, at five per cent, the income would be per year. The subscriptions to the syndicate were public and universally understood and largely participated in. There were no protests in the press; there was not a voice raised in Congress; the judicial machinery of the government was motionless, the calendars of the courts were clean of law suits, and the Sherman Law was on the statute books the same as it is to-day.

Now after this great business machinery has got into working order and the stocks are distributed among hundreds of thousands of investors, and nearly three hundred thousand laborers are dependent for the living of themselves and their families upon its operations, it is discovered that it is under the condemnation of the Sherman Law and must be disbanded.

A Yankee, with Puritan ancestors, who was a stockholder in the Standard Oil Company, came to me the other day for advice. He said, "I hold ten shares in the Standard Oil Company. I now discover that I was at that time a monopolist and a bad citizen. The company has been purged of sin by a reorganization under the direction of the court. It has been divided into thirty-seven different corporations. The interests of the stockholders are widely different in each of these corporations. I have received a notice from one of them that I have a one hundred and seventy-four three hundred and five one thousandth interest in a share of stock in that corporation, and upon it they have declared a dividend of two dollars a share. Now, I can't figure out what ought to be the size of the check which they will send me or whether it will be right when it arrives. The only thing that I do know is that now I am an honest man and patriotic citizen."

My friends, the spirit of Pilgrim liberty is that it recognizes the rewards which come to ability, industry and thrift and has no fear of bigness, unless that bigness is used to monopolize, to restrain or to oppress the little fellow. The true way to meet that situation, the spirit of Pilgrim liberty in which it can be met and must be met if it is to be properly solved, has already been demonstrated in the treatment of the railroads by the Interstate Commerce Commission at Washington and the Public Service Commission in the State of New York. They do not disband the corporations and create confusion, they do not disturb the business world by uncertainties, but vested with the supreme power of the people, they prevent oppression, wrongdoing and favoritism, and promote publicity and enforce a square deal for everybody. The watchword of the future must be this demonstrated principle of government regulation of all great industries.

The safety valve of free institutions is discussion, publicity and free speech.

I read recently an account of a meeting in some western city of a convention in which they complained by resolution that the west and the south have not a proper place in American history because the Yankees have written all the histories. Well, why? Because they could write histories which people would read. Ink and paper is just as cheap and as plentiful in every part of the country as in New England or New York. Culture is not wholly confined to New England. They have a Browning Society in Chicago. There used to be a weekly luncheon at Parker's Hotel in Boston and around the table were gathered Ralph Waldo Emerson, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Longfellow, Whittier, Judge Rockwell Hoar, Theodore Parker, Hawthorne. The contributions of these authors have made American literature classic and apparently they have no successors. I cannot help thinking that environment and tradition had much to do with their development.

Nothing so promotes and accelerates the expansion of a good idea as persecution. I remember a public meeting in New York addressed by Wendell Phillips. On account of enormous trade interests with the South and prejudice against the negro, there was very little sentiment anywhere in the North for abolition of slavery. Wendell Phillips was the greatest orator to whom I ever listened, and I have heard most of them. Captain Rynders, a Tammany brave of that period, organized a mob to break up that meeting, and succeeded. The story of that riot and the suppression of Phillips' speech promoted a discussion of slavery all over the country which advanced by more than a half century Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation.

There is not much popular feeling in the United States on behalf of this movement for peace and arbitration, so happily and wisely inaugurated by President Taft. We are too near our war of sentiment for Cuba, and too much absorbed in our business affairs and too distant from any possibility of attack upon ourselves for the people to give much thought to the subject, but when four hundred naturalized citizens, inspired by European and not American politics, broke up the

meeting in Carnegie Hall the other evening they gave an irresistible impulse to the demand of the American people for the ratification of these arbitration treaties. The men who broke up that meeting with a riot and suppressed the speeches of our most eminent citizens failed to understand the true meaning of American liberty, free speech and open discussion. A man complained to his neighbor that another neighbor greeted him with a slap on the breast that broke the cigars in his pocket, and he was prejudiced against that sort of affection, but he said, "I'll fix him so he will never do it again. I have replaced the cigars with two sticks of dynamite."

The dynamic force of American liberty is before the world most conspicuously to-day in the young American Shuster, who has been appointed treasurer of the dying kingdom of Persia. The great powers were pacifying Persia apparently to divide her territory when her difficulties became insoluble, but this young American makes a contract with Persia to manage her finances, and soon finds that the country is rich enough with stability to pay its debts and have orderly government. That means a revival of the Empire of Cyrus the Great under the auspices of a twenty-eight-year-old American. The Russian bear growls, the Cossacks occupy the country, the Czar's ministers say "Shuster must quit or war," and then Shuster, without army, without Cossacks, simply says, "I stand by my contract, and in America such things are respected." In the Persian is revived a spark of patriotism which has lain dormant for five hundred years and he says, "We stand by Shuster no matter what happens," and the English public, who when fully informed admire courage and fair play, are gradually getting behind Shuster.

The cable in this evening's papers is that the Russian Army has forced Persia to dismiss Shuster. It will do more than anything else to keep alive national spirit in Persia and win for her the sympathy of the world.

Now, my friends, how much have we changed? During the Revolutionary War the Duke de Lauzun arrived in Lebanon, Connecticut, with his Hussars, a brilliant company composed of young French noblemen. His Lieutenants were the Marquis de Chastellux and the Baron de Montesquieu. It

was the home of Governor Trumbull. They were there for months. The Yankee girls got up for them picnics, sleigh rides, toboggan slides, skating and every form of New England amusement. The French noblemen enjoyed every minute of it intensely, except that at the banquets Governor Trumbull, according to the Puritan custom, insisted on a half hour of grace before meat. The curious thing about it all is that though these young Frenchmen were the most attractive men of their time and in brilliant uniform and made love as the Yankee never could have done, they did not capture a single American girl. These Yankee girls had only one absorbing idea and that was the success of the revolution and the formation of the Republic, and they became the mothers of the future governors and legislators and congressmen and judges of New England and of the country. The only difference if conditions were reversed to our time would be that the entertainments would have a different style and be equally enjoyable, but the girls would marry the noblemen. At the same time Sheldon's cavalry passed through Litchfield, Connecticut, on its way to join General Washington. The Reverend Judah Champion immediately opened the Litchfield Church and invited the cavalry in and offered a prayer which he was so proud of that he recorded it in the register. It is too long to repeat entire, but I will give you its spirit. At that time General Howe was on the ocean with reinforcements for General Clinton in New York. The minister petitioned:

Oh! Lord, we view with terror and dismay the enemies of Thy holy religion. Wilt Thou send storm and tempest to toss them upon the sea and to overwhelm them in the mighty deep and scatter them to the uttermost parts of the earth! But, peradventure, should any escape Thy vengeance, collect them again together, Oh! Lord, as in the bottom of Thy hand, and let Thy lightnings play upon them. We beseech Thee, moreover, that Thou do gird up the loins of these, Thy servants, who are going forth to fight Thy battles. Make them strong men, that one shall chase a thousand, two shall put ten thousand to flight!

If conditions should be the same in our time would our clergy repeat that prayer? I think not. Instead they might

have the same feeling, but they would pray for speedy and honorable peace and a recognition of the efforts of the Red Cross Society.

Gentlemen, to-night the old and the new, the founders and the descendants, commune together. We differ only from our ancestors in the changed conditions of the times, but, happily for the country, for its present and its future, the ideas of the Pilgrims are still a constructive force in American progress. The schoolhouse and the church are not yet divorced, but they go together wherever American citizens settle and organize communities. We welcome the stranger fleeing from oppression as our fathers did, but now with the government land exhausted and our population increasing we ask that the barriers be raised higher and higher that there may be no contamination of American citizenship.

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Annual Dinner of the Society of the
Genesee, at the Hotel Knickerbocker, New
York City, on Saturday Evening, January
20, 1912.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: This meeting with the Society of the Genesee is charming both in its relations to the present and the past. In my own varied experience I have found that more pleasure can be had out of a political stump-ing tour than from any other exercises. For years it was my habit to take my vacation in this way, and start out to inter-view and inform my fellow citizens of my views of the policies necessary for the safety of the country from the early autumn until the frost was on the pumpkin. Sometimes indeed I have spoken in the early morning to a crowd gathered about the platform of the car in the biting air of Northern New York, with the snow beating upon us all. It was not cold enough, however, to equal the experience of one of Charles Lever's stories who, in making a speech to his shipmates and to the Esquimaux, found that his words froze and fell upon the ground as they were uttered until he stood up to his chin in a bank of his own eloquence.

But the great value of this contact with the people is the knowledge it gives one of the varying conditions in his State of the different ideas of hospitality and conditions in the commonwealth. It is the best school in the world to study human nature. I have been a guest on these trips in the palatial home of the banker and the manufacturer, in the farm house of the farmer and the cottage of the artisan, the hos-pitality of each making the welcome just as agreeable and the hospitality just as enjoyable in one place as the other. It is these trips, continued at intervals for half a century, which have made me believe that the most delightful section through which to travel is the Genesee Valley. There is a finish about its farms; there is a comfort about its homes; there is a gen-eral air of contentment and prosperity which is full of inspira-tion. There is a genuineness in its hospitality which leaves

the stump speaker with delightful recollections of people who have entertained him which he rejoices to recall and can never forget.

But, then, every section of the State has its peculiarities and subjects in which it is most interested. Along the northern counties, it is politics; by the Hudson, it is scenery and land speculation; through the Mohawk Valley, it is manufactures; along the southern tier, it is politics again, but in the Genesee Valley when the public exercises are over and the intimate conversation occurs between the close of the meeting and retiring to bed it is generally the old families of the neighborhood. I became familiar with the characteristics, peculiarities, distinguishing traits and achievements of all the pioneer families of the Genesee Valley, and the narrator always claimed to be one of them. The idea of old families which has furnished so much material for the reformer and the jester is that the best of them is below ground. This, however, applies in no respect to the old families of Western New York. A royal personage once said to me, "I am told in regard to your countrymen and countrywomen that I may recognize these because of their family and others must be barred because they have no family. Families with us date away back to early historical times from achievements in arms, from domains won by valor, from leaders of the crusades and from an unbroken ancestry of nobility running back hundreds of years before the discovery of America, while for the life of me I cannot make any distinction among you Americans, except to the extent to which you are companionable and agreeable. On that basis I love to meet and to entertain your countrymen and countrywomen and enjoy their talent, their wit, their humor, their conversational power, the agreeableness of your men and the charm of your women." But there is an old family distinction with us of which we may be proud. It is of the pioneers who settled among the Indian confederacy of the Six Nations and carved out of the wilderness the estates which by their energy and ability they turned into productive farms which added to the wealth and prosperity of the commonwealth. With them the rule of three generations from shirt-sleeve to shirt-sleeve did not prevail. They reared large families of energetic sons

and of spirited and fascinating daughters. While some remained upon the farms, others built up the cities and the villages, developed the water powers and created manufactories or went into the professions and became ministers, doctors, lawyers, judges, journalists, legislators and members of Congresses and the Cabinets of Presidents.

I remember being entertained by the local banker in one of these charming places along the Genesee nearly fifty years ago. His conversation was of these pioneer families. He said, "One of the leaders recently died and it is a great loss to our community." He was original in every way and his originality was one of the sources of his great success. I went in to see a widow of another one of these pioneers, and she commenced lamenting the loss of her friend. She said, "You do not know how I miss him now that nearly every one of the people with whom I was intimate are dead and gone. He used to come in here nearly every evening and place his chair in front of the fireplace and put his feet on the mantelpiece and light his pipe and talk and sleep and snore and be so sociable."

But what would the Genesee Valley be without its capital at Rochester, in many respects the most beautiful city in the world? The sons and daughters of these pioneers, who had been brought up with plenty of fresh air upon the farm when they established their homes at Rochester, made that city unique in so laying out their lots and building their houses that there was land and a garden about each residence. "The city in the country, and the country in the city" is the evidence of the genius of the founders of Rochester. I always loved in these campaign excursions to wind up in your city. There was something about the dinner beforehand, with the leading men of all parties, in the responsiveness of the audience and in the reception and the supper afterward which made the entertainment the crowning event of the campaign.

The natural pride of the Rochester citizens is always delightful. I remember as we stood on the bank of the gorge where the Genesee flows, when it flows, that the local enthusiast said, "Here is a gorge finer than Niagara. Here is a waterfall of greater height than Niagara. It would in all respects be superior to Niagara if it had water." This re-

minded me of a story which was told me by that most delightful of wits and raconteurs, the late Mr. William M. Evarts. He said that stopping at Cape Cod one summer the guests were always complaining of the fishy flavor of the ducks, and the indignant landlord finally said, "Ladies and gentlemen, the Cape Cod duck is a finer duck than the canvasback; its plumage is handsomer; it weighs more; it can fly higher; it can dive deeper, and it would taste just as good if it would eat the wild celery, but, damn him, he won't eat it."

It is the habit of the young graduate to take Rome for his comparisons in all civic addresses. So, what is the difference between Rome, New York, and Rochester? It took ancient Rome five hundred years to annex Attica, to conquer Palmyra and lead her Queen Zenobia at the chariot wheels of the Emperor, to have its legions tramp over the plains of Ilion and to make contributory to its greatness Syracuse and Utica. Ancient Rome made these conquests by the sacrifice of millions of lives and slaughter and devastation which make the most ghastly volumes of history, but Rochester has, within fifty years almost, by methods of peace and regeneration, drawn to her marts of trade and her centers of commerce the production and the citizens of Attica and Palmyra and Ilion, and even drawn from the commercial walls which surround Syracuse and Utica a part of their commerce and their trade and annexed to her triumphal car even Rome itself. Happily the engineer who surveyed the wilderness of western New York was a classical scholar. He saw in imagination the glories of the ancient world reproduced in America. So he dotted his map with these classic names for future cities, and they are all within a hundred miles of Rochester.

Rochester has a distinct connection with my relations to one of the episodes and tragedies of American public life. I allude to the candidacy and the tragic death of Horace Greeley. I had retired from politics in 1872 with the determination to make up in my profession what I had lost in office when Mr. Greeley, who was my neighbor in the country, came one night to my house. He said, "Chauncey, I have been nominated for President by the Liberal Republicans. I cannot win

except I get the indorsement of the Democrats. I am told that if I can demonstrate, which I believe to be true, that the majority of the Republican party is with me, that then I will receive the Democratic indorsement and will be elected President by the largest vote ever cast since Washington. In order to demonstrate my Republican following, my friends have organized a mass meeting at Rochester which they say will be entirely Republican, and will include all the leaders of that overwhelmingly Republican section of our State, Western New York. Now, it is necessary to have a speaker of State and National reputation, and they have selected you." "Well," I said, "Mr. Greeley, I have retired from politics; besides, it goes tremendously against me to break with my party, and I never have done it." He said, "Chauncey, I have supported you every time you were elected to the Legislature and while there and while Secretary of State and in all your ambitions with all my strength in the *Tribune*, and I did not think I would be treated in this way." That was too much for me. I said, "Very well, Mr. Greeley, I will go." The meeting was held in that auditorium with the best acoustics in the country, Corinthian Hall. The crowds jammed the streets for blocks. The meeting was presided over by Judge Henry R. Selden of the Court of Appeals, one of the best loved Republicans in our commonwealth. There were a hundred Vice-Presidents and a hundred Secretaries whom I had met in every campaign since '56 as the Republican leaders in all the counties in Western New York. The meeting was such a phenomenal success that Mr. Greeley's friends secured without trouble the Democratic indorsement for his nomination as a Liberal Republican. In October, North Carolina went Republican. In November, all of these men went back to their allegiance to the Republican candidate. General Grant was elected by the largest majority known up to that period. That was the first progressive movement in the great parties of our country since the organization of the government. History so frequently repeats itself that what happened once is most likely to occur again. I commend this instance to the cheerful consideration of our guest of honor here to-night, President Taft.

When I recall your attractive city, the exquisite beauty of

your valley, and particularly the homelikeness of your villages and farms, I wonder how so many of you escaped and came to New York. Is it the fascination of Wall Street, or the attractions of the Great White Way? I know from my own experience as a country boy that there is no escape once within the sphere of their influence, of the lure of the crowd and the lights of the Metropolis. But I think that you rather have come here upon philanthropic missions in order that the lambs of our city may be fed upon the invigorating fodder—the stocks and bonds—of your trolley, your water power and your electric light companies.

We are here of all politics, and of no politics, but as a retired statesman calmly surveying the field and holding the scales in equipoise for the present, I must say that it seems to me inexcusable cruelty that the peace-loving, distinguished and erudite college professor Woodrow Wilson should be assailed at the same time on either side by two of the most militant colonels in the country, Colonel Roosevelt and Colonel Bryan.

We are business men here to-night, away from its cares and responsibilities to dwell a while in imagination in our rural homes. As business men, without regards to politics, present or future, with the President of the United States here as the guest of honor, we can thank him for many things which he has done in the best interests of the country. Upon the tariff rests all our industries. Any disturbance of it is sure to lead to uncertainty and uncertainty ends in panics, and yet in the changing conditions of our industrial life, changes of the tariff are inevitable and must come. I have gone through one struggle in the Senate in tariff framing or tariff measure, and know that it is not a scientific revision of schedules but a game of chance and governed largely by the ability and the power of the various interests of the country. We can thank the President that in spite of the opposition of high protectionists and of free traders he has secured a Tariff Board of experts; that he has appointed such a board without regard to political associations or affiliations, and that now in the revision of the tariff we can have the recommendations of this expert commission upon different

schedules as the question arises instead of a general disturbance of the whole business of the country upon every item of manufacture and production. As business men we are interested in finance and currency. We know that millions are locked up in secret places in the homes of the people because they fear the banks, and there that currency becomes the prey of robbers and of fires. We know also that foreigners working here and not understanding our institutions transmit many more millions of currency a year to their homes. We can thank President Taft that by unremitting effort and against the objections of localities that want every dollar kept where it was produced he has secured the Postal Savings Banks, which will not only aid the people, but keep at the service of the government millions, mounting higher every year, which before were never available.

We have had upon the statute book for twenty years the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. It has received various interpretations. The lawyers could not agree upon it and business men were in doubt as to whether they were violating the law or living up to its requirements. With the ability of a great lawyer, with the calmness of a great judge, with the courage of a great executive, the President has forced through the courts to an ultimate decision from our highest tribunal an interpretation of the Sherman Anti-Trust law, which is practicable and sensible. Now business knows what it can do and what it cannot do, and business does not care so much what it is prevented from doing or what it is permitted to do so long as it knows the law. We of all parties can thank the President, also that in no respect has he shown so much that he is the President of the whole people as in the selections which he has made for that highest tribunal upon which depends more than in any other department of our government the strength and stability of our institutions and the prosperity of the country. I mean the Supreme Court. He has had the courage, because he was best fitted for the place, to make a Democrat and a Confederate soldier Chief Justice. He has had the courage and open-mindedness to place both Democrats and Republicans upon that bench, governed only by their qualifications and their ability to fill this great place.

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW

at the Celebration of the Treaty of Peace between France and the United States, made February 6, 1778, being the First Treaty Ever Made by the United States, on Tuesday, February 6, 1912, at Café Martin, New York City.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: It is characteristic of the dramatic gift peculiarly possessed by the French that you should gather here to-night to bridge the interval of one hundred and twenty-four years between 1778 and 1912. The interval comprises the best history of the world. It has contributed more to civil and religious liberty, to the elevation of peoples, to popular sovereignty, to advancement in the arts and sciences by invention and discovery, than all the preceding ages of recorded time.

For our purpose to-night, and I think legitimately for conclusions anywhere, the inception of this marvelous age can be traced to 1778. We touch the button, and the cinematograph begins to develop the figures of the immortals. There pass in review Washington and Lafayette, Rochambeau and Général Greene, de Grasse and John Paul Jones, while standing beyond are the French Foreign Minister de Vergennes and Benjamin Franklin preparing the treaty which made possible the independence of the American Colonies and the creation of the Republic of the United States. We turn from the films of the cinematograph to the pages of history. All Europe at that time was governed by the principle of absolutism in the throne. While in the American Colonies the struggle for two years had been characterized by a succession of defeats for the patriots, the loss of the Atlantic seaboard, with New York and Philadelphia; the flight of the Continental Congress to sit first in one village and then another; the credit of the young nation hopelessly impaired, its currency worthless, its treasury empty, its munitions of war almost exhausted and the army under

Washington encamped at Valley Forge, the blood-stained tracks of the feet of the shoeless soldiers upon the snow illustrating the desperate state of affairs. While the victory at Saratoga the year before had helped us with many continental nations and had greatly encouraged our people, yet without assistance from abroad the revolution was practically ended. The story of nations as well as of individuals demonstrates that God in his infinite wisdom tries men by fire before trusting them with power. The trial had demonstrated the stuff of which our forefathers were made and showed that capacity for sacrifice without which there can be neither manhood nor patriotism. Said Lord North to Benjamin Franklin, our commissioner at that time in London, "How can so wise a man as you advise your countrymen to engage in this hopeless revolution when we have the power to burn down all your towns and destroy your industries?" Franklin answered, "My Lord, all I possess in the world is in houses in those towns. You can set fire to them and burn them to the ground to-morrow, and you will only strengthen my determination to advise my countrymen to fight if you continue in your present policy." That was the spirit which reached France and brought about the famous treaty of February, 1778. The effect of that treaty was extraordinary. The English Cabinet heard of it and immediately sent proposals of the most liberal kind to Governor Tryon of New York to be presented to the Continental Congress. The Governor sent them to General Washington with a request that they be presented to Congress and also placed in the hands of every soldier in the army. That was so transparent an effort to sap the patriotism of the Continental troops by the prospect of peace that Washington, confident on his side, wrote back to the Governor, "Every soldier has a copy of your proposition and Congress is considering it." Congress said to Washington, "What do you advise?" Washington's answer was characteristic: "No negotiations and no communications until the army and the fleet are withdrawn and our independence recognized." The treaty with France arrived and was immediately ratified by the Continental Congress. The French under Count de Grasse appeared in our waters and the French army, under Rochambeau, was soon afoot

on our land. Munitions of war were furnished and a credit supplied by France which brought the revolution to a successful close two years afterward.

Just now there is a wide spirit of agitation, fomented by flaming oratory, against leaders and organization. We are told that progress has been impeded, delayed and at times paralyzed by reliance at different periods upon so-called great men. There is nothing new under the sun. It is only another picture, suited to another period, by a twist of the kaleidoscope with the same old glass inside. We had in this very year, 1778, an experiment. It is known in history as the "Conway Cabal." It had its origin in hatred of the demonstrated superiority in every element of leadership of General Washington. It proposed to subject him to the referendum and recall. Its purpose was to put in his place General Gates and a staff composed of the malcontents. Gates, as was proven when subjected to trial, was a monumental egotist of showy but not substantial ability. The battle of Saratoga, which gave him his fame, had been won by the careful preparations of General Schuyler (who was removed by the machinations of Gates) and by the desperate bravery of Benedict Arnold. If the conspiracy had succeeded, and the referendum and the recall had removed Washington and put Gates and Conway and Lee in supreme charge, we would not be here to-night. But, happily, it failed, and the whole world now recognizes that there was one supreme leader who could have carried us safely through the revolution, and that was George Washington.

Our country has reached its present position of peace, power and happiness because trained statesmen have been deemed by our people to be better fitted to enact our laws with the deliberation, the study and experience which are the characteristics of representative government, than to have them made by the passion of the hour and the voice of the agitator willing to fire the Temple of Ephesus if it may lead to power and fame for himself.

But how came France, absolutely ruled by aristocratic power, to give assistance at this critical hour to a revolt against kingly authority? Again comes to the mind the man of born leadership. This time it is the man of ideas. No man con-

tributed so much to the creation of government as it is to-day as Jean Jacques Rousseau, a genius with marvelous gifts. His teachings proved that no matter how wonderful the power or attractive the presentation of false ideas—

“Truth crushed to earth shall rise again;
The eternal years of God are hers;
While error, wounded, writhes with pain,
And dies among its worshipers.”

Rousseau caught on to the questioning spirit of the age and presented atheism in more fascinating garb than ever before, but the resistless force of the truths of Christianity crushed his crusade. He brought all his powers to the propagation of the doctrine of free love and the lack of obligation in the marriage tie, but the eternal foundations of the family remained unchanged. He proclaimed the truth, then unknown and unrecognized, that government can exist only by consent of the governed. This was the dynamite which had lain dormant for ages. It led to the French Revolution, until it worked its way to the creation of republican France of to-day. The court of Louis, tired of frivolity and wearied of gayety, turned to this idea of Rousseau as a toy to give freshness to fagged intellects and interest to vapid conversation, but in many minds it found lodgment, even at the court, and sent Lafayette to the United States. But there was another figure whose presence, whose equipment, whose marvelous sense, helped beyond description Rousseau's idea at the court, and that was Benjamin Franklin. Printer, writer, statesman, Quaker, he is the most picturesque character of this period of revolution. The principle of non-resistance which lies at the foundation of the faith of the Quaker is often the most dangerous weapon of offense and defense. When Franklin, representing the colonies in London, was summoned before the Privy Council, Lord Widdeburne assailed him with abuse, ribaldry, and insult, which was received by the peers in the Privy Council with loud shouts of laughter and approval. Franklin, who had been doing wonderful service in the effort to reconcile the difference between the mother country and the colonies, and

had met every rebuff with explanation of the conditions existing in America, which turned out afterward to be true, felt that he had this time been pressed beyond endurance. Instead of fighting or giving insult for insult he simply remarked that he had just bought a court suit, but he had never put it on and he would never wear it until he felt assured of the absolute independence of the colonies. He went home and did more than any other man to bring the colonies together to act in unison for the creation of an independent government. He laid the suit away in camphor, but ten years afterward, when he had won the support of France, he wore it at the French court in celebration of the treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, which had just been signed and which assured the independence of the colonies.

Franklin was welcomed by the philosophers, then popular at court, because he was the discoverer of electricity and had brought lightning from the clouds. He was welcomed by the ladies of the court because, though seventy years of age, he was himself a dynamo of resistless attraction. The young wits made fun of him; the young litterateurs caricatured him; the fops made him the butt of their sallies at the suppers and over the wine, but found to their amazement that this man of three score and ten in the tournament of love had unhorsed them all, and all the women were anxious to receive from him the crown of love and beauty. Franklin, the printer's apprentice, found his reward and fame in his own time and, illustrating the dynamic power and resistless force of the idea which we are considering, Bunyan, the tinker, after more than a century, goes from Bedford Jail to Westminster Abbey.

Now, I said there was nothing new under the sun. The Continental Congress were so elated by the treaty and the arrival of the French forces by land and sea that they turned aside from the war measures which had been their sole occupation to send this message to the Legislatures of the several States, on October 12, 1778, advising them to take measures for the suppression of theatrical entertainments, horse racing, gaming and such other diversion as were producing dissipation and general depravity of principles and morals. It is needless to say none of the Legislatures acted upon this

advice. General Washington, after he retired from the Presidency, left Mount Vernon to attend a horse race at Philadelphia at which he had entered one of his blooded steeds. Theatrical entertainments are now more popular than ever, but gambling has been placed under the ban of the law, and, in our State, horse racing was abolished two years ago.

Another illustration: The movement for the emancipation of women, beginning in laws affecting their separate property in 1848, has continued until now, there is a wide and almost successful effort to grant them equal rights with men in the suffrage, in office holding, in jury duty, and, in Germany this year in militarism, and in every duty of the citizen. It was in this pregnant twelve months which constitute 1778 that at the Battle of Monmouth Molly Pitcher was carrying water to her husband, who was a gunner of a battery of one piece of artillery. He was killed and the lieutenant proposed to remove the piece out of danger, when Molly said, "I can do everything that my husband could," and she performed her husband's duties with that old gun better than he could have done. The next morning she was taken before General Washington, her wonderful act was reported and its influence upon the fate of the battle, which was a victory, and Washington made her at once a sergeant in the army to stand on the rolls in that rank as long as she lived.

Eloquence has been exhausted and poetry has received its finest inspiration in portraying the heroism of La Tour D'Auvergne, the first grenadier of France, who fell on his one hundredth battlefield, having won as a private soldier the title of the bravest of the brave. He won more—a decree that forever at the roll call his name should be called and a sergeant should step forward and say, "Dead upon the field of honor."

It seems appropriate now for us to place among the immortals and in the Hall of Fame this only woman sergeant of the United States Army who won her title fighting for her country upon the field of battle and who is the evangel of woman's rights and woman's enfranchisement.

Our celebration of this treaty here to-night, with the presence of the distinguished Ambassador of France, has its charm

and significance. But the first celebration of the treaty was more dramatic and more significant. Every American school-boy knows the story of the horrors of that winter of famine and of cold at Valley Forge. The spring and summer make of that beautiful valley a Paradise on earth. The treaty was ratified on the second of May by the Congress, and on the sixth it was celebrated at Valley Forge by the Continental Army with a grand banquet, the army having come out of the winter of despair into the bright sunshine not only of hope, but of certainty through the friendship of France. The feasts in those days began at twelve or three o'clock, and that for a century afterward was the dinner hour in the United States in the best circles. There were toasts and speeches. They could afford to waste ammunition in salute, because plenty was coming from France. At five o'clock Washington retired with his staff. The cheers followed him for a quarter of a mile and were frequently returned by the Commander-in-Chief and the officers wheeling about and responding with cheers. The words shouted by the army and the toasts of that day have, happily, been preserved. The first toast responded to with the wildest enthusiasm was "Long live the King of France," "Long live friendly European powers," "Huzza! for the American States," and then, the whole army rising, "Long live General Washington!"

There is a growing feeling in our country against the continuance of ambassadors and ministers abroad. It is alleged that with the cable all critical matters are discussed and settled between the foreign ministers of the several countries without the intervention of our representatives. I do not think that ambassadors will ever be abolished. The impersonal can never take the place of the personal. Everything in the end comes back to the man and his fitness for the particular duty which he has assigned to him. The ambassador is the representative not only of his government but of his people. He has the power, and if he possesses the ability, he promotes as the cold type of the formal message never could, friendship and good fellowship between the people of his country and the people of the country to which he is accredited. The ambassador generally represents his period in his own land. In

Washington's time France sent here Citizen Genet; in our day, Ambassador Jusserand. Citizen Genet represented the spirit of the terror in the French Revolution. He proceeded to stir up the country by speeches at banquets and town meetings in favor of an alliance with France against Great Britain in the long journey that he made before he arrived at Philadelphia and presented his credentials. He demanded of Washington an alliance, offensive and defensive, and a declaration of war against Great Britain. Washington saw that such an act at that time, with France fully engaged in a battle with all Europe, would only lead to forces coming over from Canada and ships entering our ports when our young Republic had no money, very little credit and had been exhausted by the Revolutionary War. But the memory of the friendship of France stirred up popular enthusiasm for Citizen Genet's proposition. When he found Washington could not be moved, he tried a referendum to the American people and a recall. If at that time these two propositions had been in existence there is no doubt but what by an enormous majority war would have been declared against England, an alliance would have been made with the leaders of the French Revolution and Washington would have been recalled from the presidency, and the most violent of men placed in the presidential chair. However, the referendum and recall had not then materialized into laws and Washington summarily dismissed the minister by demanding his immediate recall. Within six months the whole country, with greater unanimity even, had recovered from the craze which Citizen Genet had created and stood solidly behind the policy of General Washington.

A century and a quarter have passed and the French Republic has here again a citizen who represents the genius of the institutions of his country, the aspirations of his people and their sentiments toward us. He carries his mission to the President. If he succeeds both nations rejoice. If he fails, he has not attempted to recall by a referendum either Roosevelt or Taft. But his failures are only delays. In the end he always wins. Writing histories in English which become classics of our literature, and speaking in our tongue, with the eloquence, aptness and finish which make his addresses a model for the

American student, Ambassador Jusserand is that happy combination which is the supremest result of gifted diplomacy—an American in America and yet always a Frenchman.

A living memorial of President Taft's administration will be the arbitration treaties he so happily conceived. For their acceptance the President has had no more efficient co-worker than the French Ambassador.

Gentlemen, may it be the good fortune of France and the United States to always have at Washington such an Ambassador. May this celebration inaugurated here to-night be followed by the passage by the Senate of the treaty of perpetual arbitration with France, and may this day find happy expression in public celebrations for all the future both in France and the United States.

(Stenographically Reported)

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Twenty-sixth Annual Lincoln Dinner
of the Republican Club of the City of New
York, in Commemoration of the Birth of
Abraham Lincoln, at the Waldorf-Astoria,
February 12, 1912.

MR. BANNARD, President of the Club: About four hours ago I was informed that both General Wood and Colonel Goethals had been detained in Washington by the Committee on Military Affairs, and could not possibly be with us. You can imagine what I did. I rang up a certain gentleman than whom no one is better known in the United States, and told him that our mortality of speakers was forty per cent. I threw myself on his neck, so far as the telephone would permit (laughter), and when he said he would consider it, I could have hugged him, if the telephone had indulged me. I shall be his friend for life, and I want to introduce the best speaker in the world, and I will give you just one guess as to who it is. Senator Depew. (Great cheers and applause.)

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

Mr. President, for a man who congratulated himself that he was going to attend a dinner and hear the President and great orators, that he had no responsibilities, that he should enjoy what was offered, both in the solid and fluid, without stint, when he is sitting preliminary to that, alongside of his wife as she is taking her tea at six o'clock, to receive a telephone message like the one which has just been reported by our presiding officer to speak within an hour in the place of two of the most distinguished men in the country, is enough to disturb a nervous man. (Laughter.)

General Garfield once said to me, "You cannot take too many chances without hurting your reputation." (Laughter.)

"No man who has made a reputation should attempt to speak unless he has been notified long before and had ample opportunity for preparation, and some day, if you keep this up, you will make a speech, on a short call, and the failure of it will be so phenomenal that it will end the reputation of a lifetime." (Laughter.) Remembering that, last summer I called a classmate of mine, and he compiled eight volumes of my speeches, and so I can say, as did Daniel Webster, or somebody else—I don't remember who—"The past, at least, is secure." (Great laughter and applause.)

When a man speaks extemporaneously, he is apt to be apologizing for it for some time afterwards. There have been distinguished examples of that in our recent history. (Laughter.) I remember the charming lady who was doing the best she could, distributing tracts before she got on the platform to speak, and in handing one to a cabby, he said to her, "Excuse me, Miss, I am happily married, and I don't believe in divorce"; and the tract was "Abide with me." (Great laughter.)

I was pleased with the speech of our President, Mr. Bannard, in which, after complimenting everybody who came here to this entertainment, he said that "without the inspiration of the woman, where would we be?" Look at him, look at him, at his time of life, and he is not married yet! (Laughter and applause.)

Now, an occasion like this necessarily leads to a comparison between the past and the present. The first speech I ever heard Mr. Lincoln make, was the one that he did not make. It was at Peekskill. (Laughter.) The whole population had gathered for the ten minutes in which he was to address us on his way to Washington. The local celebrity, who had been in Congress with him, represented the people for the welcoming speech, and before the welcoming speech was concluded, the train moved off with Mr. Lincoln laughing.

In 1864, there devolved upon me, as Secretary of State, the duty of collecting soldiers' votes, because the Legislature was Republican, and the Governor, Horatio Seymour, was a Democrat, and so they didn't give it to the Governor. I

stayed three months in Washington, and Stanton, Secretary of War, refused to give me the information necessary to reach the New York soldiers in the field with ballots. New York had over 300,000 soldiers scattered over the South. In great rage, after being roughly turned down by Stanton, I was going out of the War Office one afternoon, when I met Elihu B. Washburn, who at that time was the special representative and most intimate friend of Mr. Lincoln. I told him what was the matter, and he said, "What are you going to do?" I said, "I have got to clear my own skirts. I am going to New York to publish in the papers that the administration will not give me the localities where the New York troops are, and so they cannot vote." He said, "Look here, Depew, that beats Lincoln." "Well," I said, "then give me the voters' addresses." He said, "You don't know Abe. He is a great President, but he is also a great politician, and if there was no other way of getting those votes, he would go around with a carpet bag, and collect them himself." (Laughter.) Within an hour I was summoned into the presence of a changed Secretary of War, so polite that I didn't know him, and on the midnight train I went off with the locations of the troops. The cause of this quick transformation was the sudden appearance of the President in the War Office with a message so emphatic that the roaring Lion became the most serviceable of Lambs.

There has been much criticism about a President working, while he is in office, for reelection, but here is the example, after fifty years, of the man whom we are celebrating here to-night, who would have gone around with a carpet bag to collect the votes if there was no other way of getting them. And I am sure our President, Mr. Taft, is justified in doing what he can in that line, as he did so magnificently in his speech here to-night. (Great applause.) It certainly is dramatic for one who has that recollection of the year preceding the presidential election of Mr. Lincoln, to again, nearly fifty years afterwards, be in the hall with a President, the year before his reelection (great applause), with the conditions virtually unchanged. It reminds me that possibly nothing changes in this world. Certainly, in my long experience in

public life, I have found that nothing changes in the fundamentals; the change is only in the scenery, the surroundings, and the dramatic effect.

We celebrated in December, the landing of the *Mayflower*. Why? Because, in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, was enunciated that charter which first gave the principle of equality of all men before the law. We celebrated here, this last week, the first treaty ever made by the United States, the treaty with France which gave to us Lafayette, Rochambeau, and DeGraff, and the French army and the French navy, and the credit and munitions of war, which enabled us to win our independence. We celebrate to-night Mr. Lincoln and his administration of fifty years ago, and we will celebrate, on the twenty-second of this month, Washington's Birthday, with all that it means. Last summer I was in France, and I went out one Sunday to Versailles, where all Paris goes, and I accompanied the crowd as they walked through that marvelous palace of Louis XIV, and as they paused in the rooms, full of memories of Napoleon, the Empress Josephine, and Marie Antoinette. What struck me more than anything else, accustomed as I have been, all my life, to go to historic places in America where there was enthusiasm and reverence, was that those people went by as sightseers and tourists, because Versailles, with its memories of the Bourbon kings, and Napoleon, of an absolute autocracy, and an empire, conveyed nothing to them. Their memories were only of the thirty-odd years of the republic.

But we are what we are to-day because of our traditions, and our traditions never change: the traditions of equality before the law enunciated in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, the traditions of the Declaration of Independence in Independence Hall, the traditions of Washington and what he stood for and what he accomplished, and to-night, the traditions of what Lincoln stood for. We are here now as a Republican club, and Lincoln was a Republican President. All sides of him have been superbly presented. The tribute which President Taft paid was finely said and deserved, that he was the President of all parties; and that beautiful tribute, so eloquent and appreciative, by the orator of the evening,

as to Lincoln's characteristics, from a Southern man, was equally deserved. But Lincoln was a partisan, and a Republican. We are here to-night as partisans and Republicans, most of us.

Lincoln stood for what? For the question of his day. Have they changed? They have changed only in form. We have not the slave labor question any longer, but we have labor questions which are to be decided upon broad principles, as Lincoln would have decided them if they had arisen in his time. He had to provide revenue for the purpose of supporting the army and navy and carrying on the Government. He had to develop the resources of the country which would support the people here, if we won, and while we were fighting. Now, what did he do? He inaugurated and carried through the most drastic measure of protection of American industries that any President ever suggested. It was full protection, not so high but that it furnished revenue, and yet high enough to cause the development of one industry after another, and to continue to the laboring man of this country that measure of wage which makes him more independent, and with greater possibilities and hopefulness than ever existed before in any country in the world. (Applause.)

We come down to our own time, and we have meeting us, and meeting President Taft, very much the same things that met Lincoln, so far as the fundamentals are concerned, or the principles upon which we fight. And I want to say, as a veteran campaigner who has stumped this country for different Presidents for fifty-six years (applause), that the speech of forty minutes made here to-night by President Taft will be the text-book of the campaign. We will all copy from it, we will all take texts from it, and we will make the welkin ring all over the country with the achievements of the Taft Administration which it merits and the promises it contains, and if it results, as it ought to, in his election next November, we will say, "Taft, you did it!" (Great cheers and applause, and cries of "Hear, hear!")

I was reading to-night in an English paper the speech made by Shuster in London (applause), and it was a renewal of faith in the great principles for which Lincoln

stood, for which Washington stood, and for which every statesman in America who is successful must stand. He says, in effect, "I went to Persia, commissioned to put her finances in order. I found universal corruption. I found the money was ample, but it was all diverted to the personal use of grafters, from royalty down. I said to the first constituent assembly, elected by the people, that Persia ever had in all her history, from the time of Cyrus the Great, 'Will you give me power to do as I have a mind to?' And they said, 'Yes' unanimously." "Then," he said, "I found there was money enough for all purposes, and I began to collect it, and to apply it to the legitimate purposes of the resurrection of Persia, so that she could stand upon her liberal principles, and go ahead, when Russian suddenly said, 'That is not what you are here for; what we want is demoralization and bankruptcy, because that is our opportunity to seize Persia.'"

Well, my friends, contrast that with the principles that have been at the bottom of American policies in treating with other countries. Contrast it with our treatment of the Philippines, of Cuba, of Hawaii, contrast it with what we did when one of the greatest of our secretaries of state, our own club member, Elihu Root, made his famous visit, as Secretary of State, to the Southern Republics. (Applause.)

Somebody says—I don't know who; Governor Black, with his marvelous memory will recall it—that there will never be anything but war tumult and revolution south of the Gulf of Mexico, but the policy of the American Government, under Roosevelt, and under Taft, is giving to those American republics on the Isthmus and in South America, greater stability than ever before, because we stand behind them and say, "We don't want your territory, we don't want an inch of your land, we don't want any influence with you except to protect you under the Monroe Doctrine, but what we do demand is that you shall work out your own salvation on the eternal principles of our Declaration of Independence and of the charter of equal laws of the *Mayflower* and due regard for your international obligations." (Applause.) And that is dollar diplomacy!

Lincoln was President fifty years ago; Taft is President to-night. Lincoln was a candidate for reelection fifty years ago; Taft to-night is a candidate for reelection. What is the difference between the two men? Mr. Taft is the product of the school and the college. He is the product of the best culture America can give. He is the product of the training which has given him that judicial mind which has enabled him to decide more questions than almost any other President in my time, and decide them right; which has enabled him to present more constructive and progressive legislation, and secure it, than most Presidents, and yet, as a scholar and a judge, he lacks the faculty of advertisement and a brass band. (Laughter and applause.) If he had those two qualities, he would be resistless. Every dead wall in the country, and every farmer's fence, and every home, would be filled with pictures and flaming eloquence which would indicate that the salvation of every man, woman and child, had been secured, built up and riveted, and with another term would be fenced in and whitewashed over head, and nothing more could be done by any human being. (Laughter.)

We come to Lincoln. He was a different man. No one in any country ever started life so unpromisingly as Abraham Lincoln. Nothing equals the poverty and hopelessness of a poor white cabin in the South, and especially at that time. And yet he came out of that, for there was in him the wonderful genius which nobody can account for. You can't account for Milton or Shakespeare. You can't account for Lincoln. The first books he got hold of, he read over and over. First was the Bible, next "Pilgrim's Progress," and next "Æsop's Fables," and next Weem's "Life of Washington." Those made him a story teller, because Weem's "Life of Washington" has probably within its pages more stories that never happened to Washington, than any book ever written. (Laughter.) In Weem's "Life of Washington," you find the cherry tree story, and nowhere else. (Laughter.) And yet that lie has done infinite good to all the youths of the country (laughter), because it was a fundamental lie in the defense of the truth. "Æsop's Fables" furnished him with stories. I found out this about Lincoln, that he never argued anything. He sim-

ply told a story, or else cracked a joke, but it met the thing on all fours, so that if you were on the opposite side, you had nothing to say. (Laughter.) My old friend, John Ganson, the ablest lawyer we had in Western New York, was a war Democrat, and he supported Mr. Lincoln. He was a fine looking, very dignified man, with a very impressive appearance and way of talking, and he had not a spear of hair on his head or anywhere about his face. He went up one day, he told me, to Mr. Lincoln, when things looked very bad at the front, and everybody was discouraged, and he said, "Mr. President, you know, sir, that I am a war Democrat. I am leaving my party to support your measures, because I believe in the country first and the party next. Now, things look very bad at the front, and I think, with this relation to you and your administration, I ought to know just how things are. How are they, sir?" Mr. Lincoln looked at him for a minute, and then said, in his quizzical way, "Ganson, how clean you shave!" (Great laughter.) There was a party of New York financiers who went down to Washington, and the New York financier is a mighty able man—in Wall Street. But he sees the present, and he wants to provide for that. The financial situation was frightful, because gold was so reduced in volume and at an unprecedented premium. They said: "Mr. President, we are here representing the financial interests in the financial center of the country, and we think that the best thing to do is to take the gold out of the treasury and give it to the people." But Mr. Lincoln knew that what little gold there was in the treasury was all the basis the country had for its credit, and the enormous volume of paper currency which had been put out. Did he argue that question with those financiers? No, he knew they would beat him out of sight in an argument, but he said to them: "Gentlemen, out in Illinois, when I was practicing law, the farmers were troubled because of a disease among the hogs that was carrying them off and likely to destroy the whole of that industry. Someone suggested that the way to cure the hogs was to cut off their tails. So they cut them off, and they were cured. The next year the same disease came back, but they all died because they had no tails." (Great laughter and applause.)

No man recovers from his environment and the influences of his birth, and the associations of his childhood, no matter how great may be his opportunities afterwards, no matter how wonderful the culture that has come to him, nor how supreme his ability to take advantage of them. The environment of his humble home will always cling to him, and always be in evidence. Lincoln passed the whole of that formative period of his life among a frontier people. He had singular and original experiences. He loved to be down at the country store, or the bar room of the village tavern, although he never drank, and there exchange stories and listen to stories among those adventurous and original people. That bar room was the neighborhood club in those days. He loved to go around the circuit, and when they reached the country towns, they all stopped at the same hotel, and they stayed up all night—the judge and the lawyers and the witnesses, and the grand and petit jury men—swapping these experiences. I asked him once, “Where do you get so many stories?” And he told me that it was in this way that I have just described. So he got into the habit, much to the disgust of Chase, who was a “turvy drop,” and of other people around him, of meeting questions with these stories, most of which are not in print. (Laughter.)

On the other side, there was another Lincoln formed on his daily reading of the Bible, which he knew by heart, and Bunyan’s “Pilgrim’s Progress,” which he knew by heart. The English language, in its noblest form as it is to-day, has been formed by the King James version of the English Bible. It has been literature, pure and undefiled, which has given to our writers, in the English tongue, their distinction, and inspiration. That formed Lincoln’s style. It also formed the basis from which he built up those principles of eternal truth which led to the Emancipation Proclamation, which led also to his infinite charity, which would have eradicated many evils had he lived to go through his second term. It was the education from this foundation which gave to the world those two imperishable productions, that oration which will live forever, the Gettysburg speech, and that finest State paper ever written by a President, and which never can be copied, Lincoln’s second inaugural address. (Great applause.)

SPEECH BY HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Celebration by the New York State
Society of the Cincinnati of the One Hun-
dred and Eightieth Birthday of George
Washington, at the Waldorf-Astoria, Feb-
ruary 22, 1912.

COMRADES OF THE CINCINNATI: It is eminently fitting that this Society should celebrate the birthday of its founder, General George Washington. One hundred and eighty years have passed since his birth. The story of that century and three-quarters, or at least the last century of it, is the most illuminating and inspiring cycle of recorded time. It is our pride and satisfaction as Americans that to marvelous development, uplift and progress of civil and religious liberty in this century no one contributed so much as George Washington.

It is a happy result of the continuance of this patriotic order that there has been a revival of the study of the origin of our institutions, of the formation of the Republic and of the lives and characters of the founders.

There are many other patriotic societies celebrating this day who have come into existence within the last half century, and who are doing admirable work in the education of the citizen by furnishing him with the inspirations of the past. In my close connection for many years with education, as Regent of the University of the State of New York for thirty years, and a member of the Corporation of Yale University for twelve years, I have been deeply interested in the work of the common schools, academies and colleges. I have found that one great defect is in the inadequate attention given to American history. Many of the wild theories, which now attract the young and in the guise of reform seem to promise far better results than any which have been secured in the past, would never have taken such hold upon the imagination if there had been careful and systematic instruction in the history of our Republic and of the principles which lay at its foundation. I

doubt if the majority in any high school or college of the country, if called upon on this day to pass an examination upon the life, character and achievements of General Washington, or Hamilton, or Jefferson, or Madison; could succeed. I doubt if even a small minority know that in those early days and during the experimental stage, questions of Federal authority, State rights, checks to prevent hasty and ill-considered action, of independence of the courts, and of representative government, were all thrashed out.

To-night fashionable society is having many balls and dances because this is a national holiday. General Washington was exceedingly fond of dancing, and was noted as being the most expert and graceful dancer of his day, but he knew nothing of the "Turkey Trot" or the "Bunny Hug" or the "Grizzly Bear." If these young people should be asked at the supper what is the significance of this day and what the place of General Washington in history, I doubt if they would be able to respond. They would return to the "Turkey Trot."

A very brilliant and highly cultured and traveled young woman said to me, "Why bother about those old times and the great people of that day? What they did is of no interest to us, though undoubtedly it was important then. I have no use for the ancients."

It is the distinction of the Society of the Cincinnati that it has lived with content and satisfaction for nearly two hundred years without being disturbed in its organization by the cataclysms which have occurred during that long period. Politics have never entered its councils, nor have religious factions or disputes disturbed its membership. It has lived through and survived every Presidency in our history.

It has become the fashion now for men distinguished in any department of life before they die to write their autobiographies or print their diaries. If the recorder of the Cincinnati had kept a close diary of the inner councils of each Presidential administration, beginning with Washington, and the troubles in their cabinets, it would be a wonderful contribution to the history of the times. As the past recedes and the men and events grow more dim, we need this personal revelation to show the supreme authority exercised for the

creation and afterward for the salvation of the young Republic until it was put upon a firm basis by George Washington. The value of such a contribution is brought emphatically to our attention by the diary of Gideon Welles, who was a member of President Lincoln's Cabinet. It was my fortune to be officially in Washington during much of the Lincoln Administration and to know of the gossip which filtered from the White House as to the motives and ambitions of the President's official family. There are few now living who had the opportunity or who knew any of these events, but here from the pen of this hard-headed Yankee who had but one ambition, and that was to serve his chief and save the country, comes a diary written day by day, showing the intrigues for power, for influence with the President, for replacing him for their own ambitions, for succession among the members of his cabinet. The great value of the revelation is that while these great men were most efficient in their several departments of the State and Foreign Affairs, or the Treasury and Finance, or War, or the Navy, or the Post Office, they were bitterly antagonistic to each other. But they were compelled to use their great abilities in their several ways for the government and its salvation. They were compelled to suppress and keep under cover their machinations and their conspiracies against each other and against their chief, and they presented a united front to the enemy on the one hand and the country on the other because of the tact, the diplomacy, the genius and the magnetic power of Abraham Lincoln.

We know that Washington, the soldier, was the only one of the generals of the time who could have carried on successfully the Revolutionary War, and so he was "The Father of his Country." We know that in the trials and experiments of bringing a confederacy of independent governments into a federation of sovereign states, and yet with supreme power in the Federal Government, no man and no combination of men had so much influence as General Washington. We know that in securing the ratification of the Constitution, framed by a convention of the several States, he used with wonderful effect the officers and soldiers of his army who were prominent citizens in their several States and who had taken the oath of

the Society of the Cincinnati to preserve and perpetuate the Union. We know that during his eight years as President only his commanding influence and courage with the people, who knew that he was serving them and longing for the opportunity to retire to private life, prevented our young Republic becoming an ally of the French Revolution and involved in a war with all Europe when we had neither credit, nor money, nor arms. We all know that except for his commanding influence the revolutions which were started in various States would have culminated into a dissolution of the Union. We all know that at the end of eight years he, and he alone, had so consolidated our institutions that they could be entrusted safely to other hands because behind the politicians were the people, educated to the benefits of government, of the Constitution and the laws. Now, this could have been brought out much more clearly if there had been a Gideon Welles in the cabinet of General Washington. The two ablest men, the greatest rivals and bitterest enemies of that period, were members of his official family, Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. Each represented antagonistic views of government. Each had tremendous following among the people, but they worked together and subordinated their views to the general good, and how they did it is left to the imagination. And yet it requires no diary of a member of that cabinet; it requires no stretch of the imagination to draw from the records of the times, meager as they are in this respect, the daily story of Washington and his official family. We can see towering above them all the great master builder, keeping each in his place and performing the work for which he was fitted beyond all other men in the country, and at the same time making it impossible for their individual jealousies and ambitions to disturb the creative and consolidating work of their chief.

Now, gentlemen, nothing more astonishes the careful reader of history than the few men who have controlled the destinies of nations and of mankind. Julius Caesar came into power when wealth and corruption had so undermined the Republic and enervated its virility that its dissolution into its original elements with universal warfare was imminent. By the creation of imperial authority he kept together that empire

for a thousand years. Outside its boundaries travel was impossible; within its boundaries there was Roman law and protection on the highway. This made possible the dissemination of Christianity through the whole Roman world, an event which would have been impossible under the old savage relations of contiguous nations, and this made possible modern Christendom.

The French Revolution would have failed except for the genius of Napoleon. His aims were not republican, nor the dissemination of liberty, but in the name of liberty he overthrew thrones and spread liberal ideas and overturned nearly all autocracy and absolutism and despotism except his own. Waterloo ended him but placed no barrier to the progress of Democracy. England, with a Parliamentary government more quickly responsive to the people than any in the world, France a republic, all other European nations with a Parliament, and most of them a responsible ministry, Turkey and ancient Persia feeling the thrill of these ideas, are all the results of the work, genius, conquests and triumphs of Napoleon. So, for liberty, as we understand it, and as we enjoy it, the absolute sovereignty of the people, the equality of all men before the law, the freedom of opportunity for every child, all these are due to the character, courage, unselfish patriotism and genius of George Washington. Cæsar was inspired by ambition, Napoleon by craze for power—both utterly selfish. Washington's labors were for his country. In the purity of his motive he stands the foremost man of all the centuries.

We have problems which seem to us full of peril, but they are not so difficult as those which he successfully solved. We are passing through an acute struggle, common not only to us, but to the whole world, between labor and capital. We have greater general prosperity, a higher standard of living and more universal conditions of comfort than has ever existed among any people, or our own people before, and yet there never was such a wide-spread spirit of unrest. We are entering upon a presidential election, and the different candidates are presenting to us their methods for solving these difficulties and allaying this unrest. In the meantime, business halts, enterprises are suspended and the movement of the mighty forces

which give employment and opportunity is checked. Frequently I hear a cry of anger and despair. Gentlemen, so long as we can celebrate in proper spirit the birthday of General Washington, so long as we can read and re-read his Farewell Address, so long as we can remember and cherish the memory of Abraham Lincoln, so long as we can repeat his Gettysburg speech and his second inaugural, there will come into the Presidency and into the Cabinet, and into Congress, and into the courts, the wisdom which has guided us marvelously in the past and will surely take care of us in the future.

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW

at the Dinner Given by the United Swedish Societies and the John Ericsson Memorial Association, March 9, 1912, at the Park Avenue Hotel, New York City, in Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Battle between Monitor and Merrimac.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: In an age of anniversaries and their celebration, yours is unique. It is a tribute to a genius so modest that the immortality due him for his invaluable invention has never been accorded.

The latter part of the Nineteenth Century with us was full of centennials, commencing with that of the Declaration of Independence and, continuing through the various battles of the Revolution, they ended with the adoption of the Constitution, the inauguration of the first President and the formation of the Supreme Court of the United States. We celebrate still with appropriate ceremonies the recurring birthdays of Washington and Lincoln. The educational value of these memorial exercises cannot be overestimated. Each celebration is a university education completed in a single day—an education in the best history of one's country, and an inspiration for patriotism. The Bunker Hill Monument gave to the world the oration of Daniel Webster, which, appearing thereafter in the school books, did more to inform the youth of the United States of the virtues and achievements of their forefathers and of the principles underlying the institutions of their country than all the histories in existence.

It is interesting to glance over the speeches in and out of Congress during the first fifty years after the formation of the Government. They show that the orator understood that he must appeal to lively recollections among his constituents of the great revolution with which they were all familiar. During the subsequent fifty years commercialism and industrialism, attendant upon the marvelous progress and development of the

country, practically obliterated both memory and influence in regard to the story of the creation of our government, or of the soldiers and statesmen whose valor and wisdom made the struggle triumphant.

In estimating the value of the reproduction of the events or the retelling of the story of heroes and statesmen, I think that the interest centers around the individual. Events are innumerable. The mind, with the ordinary pursuits, struggles, successes and failures of life, has no time to grasp them all, or to study the details necessary to understand the significance of the results. But the romance of the hero has a perpetual charm. If the boy and the girl are thoroughly familiar with George Washington, Daniel Webster and Abraham Lincoln they will grasp most that it is necessary to know in regard to the story of American independence and evolution, of crises and how they were overcome successfully, of American valor, of the constitution and of representative government and the value for yesterday, to-day and forever of American liberty.

To understand what this day signifies we must in imagination throw a picture upon the wall of conditions in the United States, and between the United States and the world, in 1862. Happily, in the fraternizing of the combatants, in their equal share in the benefits of this most beneficent of governments and equal power and responsibility in its administration, the bitterness of that period has passed away, the flame of its passionate resentment has died out and we can calmly, from either side, study the heroic picture of men of the same blood, differently trained and with different ideals, fighting and dying as only such men can, for what they deemed to be right.

I remember that year as if it were yesterday. The Civil War had been a drawn battle between the North and the South, a free labor or a slave holding republic. Mr. Lincoln and his administration had, in their efforts to save the Union, an interior line of eleven thousand miles to defend and a sea coast of three thousand miles to blockade. The United States Navy had at that time only forty effective men-of-war. The conspirators in the government, knowing that they were to bring about secession, had sent the best and strongest of

these battleships to China and the coast of Africa and the Pacific Ocean. There were only eleven ships, carrying only one hundred and thirty-one guns, upon our Atlantic coast. Less than a year before the appearance of the *Monitor*, an American naval officer had taken off the British steamship Trent Mason and Slidell and their secretaries who were going to Europe as ambassadors of the Southern Confederacy, one to England and the other to France, to endeavor to secure recognition for their government. This had brought us to the verge of war with Great Britain, which was only averted by the diplomacy, skill and adroitness of Secretary of State William H. Seward. The sympathies of the governments of the Old World were wholly with the government of the Southern Confederacy. All these governments were either absolute monarchies or constitutional ones under the control of an aristocratic oligarchy. Tremendous immigration to the United States had carried back such ideas of American liberty as were endangering thrones and old institutions. If this Civil War should be successful that danger would be averted for a generation, so the ruling classes in all Europe were anxious for any excuse to interfere and to break up the American Republic. On the other hand, a notion had got abroad that the slaveholders of the South were a privileged and aristocratic class, while the North was a nation of shopkeepers. So the sympathies of the hereditary rulers were with what they deemed to be a part of the country whose governing people were more nearly affiliated with themselves. If the Southern Confederacy could be recognized by the great powers of Europe and arms and munitions of war poured in through the many harbors of the Atlantic coast, even the superior population, the greater wealth and the larger resources of the North could scarcely have been sufficient to save the Union.

In the summer of 1861 the President, Congress and the country were informed that at the Norfolk Navy Yard, which had fallen into Confederate hands, a new and most formidable ship of war was being constructed on original lines. Some of the ablest officers of the American Navy had gone with their States into the rebellion. They had taken the old frigate *Merrimac* which was at Norfolk when it was seized, and with

wonderful skill and ingenuity were transforming her into an ironclad impenetrable to any ordnance then in existence. There was alarm all over the country. It was fully thought that if the reports in regard to this formidable vessel were true she could destroy the eleven ships of the American fleet, and, as our harbors were then wholly unprotected against such a battleship, could enter and levy tribute upon Philadelphia, New York and Boston. Delegations of bankers and commercial men were constantly going to Washington beseeching the President to save them from this peril. I recall Mr. Lincoln telling me in his whimsical way of the arrival of such a committee. They were from New York. There were a hundred of them. He said that all had Prince Albert coats and top hats. Their several spokesmen detailed the enormous amount of wealth which they represented and the millions which each of them individually possessed. They pictured how this warship could sail unimpeded to their docks and burn the entire city or else levy tribute sufficient to carry the war on indefinitely. They claimed that they were entitled to protection because of the liberality with which they had subscribed to the government bonds. Mr. Lincoln said that he had never heard or dreamed of so much money being owned or represented by so few people. He said to them, "Gentlemen, we have no ships to send to New York; we have no guns to mount on your forts; we have no money, and the whole credit and means of the government are exhausted in doing what we can to protect the Capital and this tremendous interior and coast line. But," he said, "if I had as much money as you say you have," and then in his quaint way of pronouncing, "and was as 'skeered' as you are, I think I would find means with which to protect my own town." Then this delegation went to Congress, and Congress appropriated one million five hundred thousand dollars to invite proposals for the construction of any kind of a ship which would be able to meet and resist the attack of the *Merrimac* as had been described. Of course, the President was immediately flooded with plans from every cracked-brained inventor in the country, and the Navy Department was kept nights, days and Sundays in the investigation of these schemes. Fortunately, Captain John Ericsson had a reputation

of previous achievement. He had been the inventor of the screw propeller which had revolutionized the commerce of the world and the battleships of all nations. He finally secured a contract for his device, in which the experts had no faith, and a small part of this appropriation and commenced work at Green Point, Long Island. He completed his little *Monitor* in one hundred days, and then, with Lieutenant Worden and a crew, this nondescript craft, which was practically a raft with a revolving turret, armed with two eleven-inch guns, started for Hampton Roads. The country knew nothing of the ship, and the few who did had no faith in her, but regarded the experiment as only a desperate chance. On the 8th of March, 1862, the dread moment arrived when the *Merrimac* sailed out into Chesapeake Bay. She immediately attacked the two American frigates which were there to watch her, the *Cumberland* and the *Congress*. She sunk the *Cumberland* and drove the *Congress* ashore, and then returned to Norfolk to come out the next day and complete her work. Such a night and such a morning this country has seldom seen. There was little sleep anywhere; in the South wild elation, and in the North a frenzy of despair. The news, flashed by electric wires, filled the journals everywhere. There was but one ray of light, and that was a light of which to be proud. The *Cumberland*, refusing to surrender, had gone down in fifty-four feet of water, her flag still flying, her commander preferring that it should be buried with himself in the ocean rather than surrendered to the enemy. The morning of the 9th of March found the country in a thrill of expectancy, of hope on one side and of alarm on the other. In the early morning the *Monitor* had come into the bay. As the *Merrimac* started for the third ship, the *Minnesota*, this nondescript craft came out from under the shadow of the huge side of the *Minnesota* and made directly for the *Merrimac*. The veterans on both sides looked at her in amazement, the skilled and trained officers of the *Merrimac* bursting with laughter. Some shouted, "Here comes a Yankee tin can on a shingle," and others, "Here's a Yankee cheesebox on a raft," but the revolving cheesebox began to hurl from its eleven-inch guns solid shot against the armor of the *Merrimac* which broke the iron, though it could not pierce the twenty-

four inches of solid oak underneath, while the raft and the cheesebox proved invulnerable to the *Merrimac* guns. After several hours of this fighting, in which the *Merrimac* could not with her huge bulk ram her agile and small antagonist, in which she had suffered injuries that needed investigation, the *Merrimac* withdrew up the river to the Norfolk Navy Yard and never came out. Again language is inadequate to describe the wild excitement in every city, village and hamlet in the land which followed this most dramatic and spectacular fight.

The possibilities of the great nations of Europe recognizing the Southern Confederacy were over, the danger to the American Navy was past, the hope of a Confederate Navy was blasted, but an event occurred that day which challenged the cabinets, the navy departments and the admiralties of every nation in the world. They all saw that their fleets were doomed; they all saw that to preserve their positions on the ocean or protection for their coasts, there must be such a feverish haste, as never was known before, to burn, to bury or break up their wooden ships and secure ironclads.

There is no study more interesting than the one which would develop how much property has been suddenly destroyed by invention or discovery or the opening of new channels of trade. Quite as large fortunes as have ever been piled up by the possessors of new and remunerative ideas, have on the other hand been lost because the revolutionary character of these ideas have sent the old ships or coaches or machinery to the scrap heap. One of the greatest fortunes in the world is due to the sagacity and courage of its maker who would sell at any price or break up and destroy the machinery which he had installed at enormous expense yesterday if a better one came on the market to-day.

The *Monitor* could make six knots an hour; the dreadnaught makes twenty-one. The *Monitor* had a displacement of seven hundred and seventy-six tons; the dreadnaught twenty-five thousand tons. The *Monitor* took its chance of hitting its target as it came in sight of its revolving turret, but even then it was obscured by clouds of black smoke, and the range of its guns was a few hundred yards. Its shot weighed only

one hundred and sixty pounds, while the dreadnaught with entire accuracy, even in a heavy sea, will send a shot or a shell weighing nine hundred pounds for six miles, with a possible range of ten. The resisting power of the soft iron which protected the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor* alike differed as much from the Harveyized steel armor of the dreadnaught as one inch is to fifty, while the energy of the projectile from the great gun of the dreadnaught is fifty thousand times greater than that which went from the muzzle of the gun in the *Monitor*.

Ericsson said, as his little craft was launched, "I name you the *Monitor*." His thought went back to his school days when the monitor checked the bad boy or told the teacher. "I call you the *Monitor*," he said, "because you will admonish the leaders of the Southern rebellion that the batteries on the banks of their rivers can no longer present barriers to the entrance of the Union forces. I call you the *Monitor* as a warning to Great Britain to stop at once the building of the three battleships now under construction which are to cost three million five hundred thousand dollars apiece. I call you the *Monitor* because you are to warn all nations that they must abandon their navies and build new ones on your suggestion."

Before Ericsson's invention of the screw propeller, the paddle wheels on either side of the ship were thought to be the greatest progress possible for the propulsion of a vessel. To see what has been the effect of this product of Ericsson's genius, one has only to picture what would happen to the towering sides of the *Olympic* with paddle boxes sufficient, if they could be constructed, to enable them to move at all. What would happen to those floating fortresses, the twenty-five-thousand-ton dreadnaughts, if they were dependent upon this suggestion of the motive power in the mill wheel of our ancestors?

The battle which had been fought in the waters of Hampton Roads when the sun went down fifty years ago to-night has its lesson to-day. If the government, when the rebellion broke out, could have had the full strength of its navy, or if it had possessed an adequately equipped army, or, in other words, if in time of peace it had been prepared for war, the rebellion

would have been quickly ended and we would have been spared the horrors of four years of the bloodiest civil strife in all history. There is a mighty preachment now which finds its echo in Congress, that we can save money by reducing the efficiency of the army and denying the battleships necessary for the navy. "War is out of date," cry these mistaken advocates of peace. There was a time when the world was made up of nations seeking to gain power and wealth by conquering their weaker neighbors, when the possibilities of conflict were ever present because of the grasping avarice of power. The possibilities of conflict are ever present for us. With the strained relations existing between Great Britain and Germany, nothing but the invincible strength of the British navy prevented war last summer. With the ambition for a larger place in the sun which characterized diplomacy about Morocco, nothing prevented one of the bloodiest wars of modern times except the efficiency of the French army, united with the overwhelming strength of the British navy. Conditions in Mexico, with the enormous sums of foreign money invested in that country, and the great numbers of the citizens of various nations doing business and living there, are full of peril to the Monroe Doctrine of which we are the guardian. At any hour all Europe may plump to us the question, "Shall we rely on your interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine or protect ourselves, as we are amply able to do?" If we had a lesser navy they would not ask that question. They would protect themselves, which they would much prefer to do. War with Turkey would not have occurred if Turkey had possessed a navy equal to that of Italy. It came upon every cabinet suddenly as the explosion of a stick of dynamite.

But, gentlemen, let this night have other lessons more intimate and personal. Let it be the commencement of a movement for an instruction which shall put in his proper place in the Temple of Fame one who deserves to stand among the immortal few who have been the benefactors of mankind in different ages of the world, your countryman and our naturalized fellow-citizen, Captain John Ericsson.

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Dinner Given by the Lotos Club of
New York to Mr. Justice Pitney, of the
Supreme Court, Thursday, May 2, 1912.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: It is fortunate for the stability of our institutions and the preservation of our Union that the Justices of the Supreme Court are not subject, like our candidates for the Presidency, to an open primary. The necessity of this new system compels the President and an ex-President of the United States, Governors of States who are candidates, and all others who aspire to the great position, to spend nearly every day of the months preceding the convention in living on sleeping cars by night and making rear platform speeches to crowds at stations by day in order to impress upon the constituencies their several claims for the nomination of their party. While the candidates are criticised, it is not their fault, but it is the exigency of the new system which compels them to appear as far as possible in every locality and before all the people of our vast country.

There are about two hundred thousand lawyers in the United States, and it is the legitimate ambition, I might say the absorbing desire, of every one of them to attain the highest honor possible in their profession, and that is to be one of the nine Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. If we had, as is now advocated for filling vacancies in that court, the open primary, there would be at least twenty-five thousand lawyers traveling the country, speaking wherever they could secure an audience and making heroic efforts to attain the first page of the daily press. They would be appealing for votes, not because of their knowledge of the law or of their ability to interpret statutes according to the Constitution or of their fearlessness in holding the scales of justice evenly for the strong and the weak, for the rich and the poor, regardless of popular passion or temporary excitement and enthusiasm, but they would be assuring the people of each

of our forty-eight States that their diverse views on questions of currency and of tariff, of war and of peace, of State boundary lines and State claims to authority against that of the Federal Government, the candidate could be relied upon to stand by the views of the people he was addressing without any weak reverence for an antiquated constitution or laws which had ceased to meet the popular will.

What sort of a bench would result from this process is a question on par with the famous dictum about the verdict of the petit jury that no one but divinity could foreknow, and even he might be in doubt. Happily, those wise founders of our government decided that the Justices of the Supreme Court should be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. It is a remarkable tribute to this method of selection that the historian can find no criticism upon any choice thus made during the one hundred and twenty years of the existence of the Court. Whatever may be our views or our preferences on the Presidency, there is one question on which there is no divided opinion, and that is by his wonderful training as a judge and his accurate knowledge of the qualities necessary to meet all the requirements of the highest court in our land, no President, no citizen, is better fitted, or has more admirably demonstrated his ability and his fairness than President Taft. He has never considered whether the best man was a Democrat or a Republican; he has never considered what his religion might be, but with the opportunity that has come to him to appoint a majority of the Court, he has in a most extraordinary degree elevated and strengthened it.

In view of the honor conferred upon us this evening by having the most recent appointment to this great tribunal as our guest, I am reminded of the beginnings of the Court. After the Judges had been appointed by Washington and sworn in, they opened court in the rooms of the Merchants' Exchange in this city. There being no precedent as to the robing of the Judges, as there had been none for the formation of the court, Chief Justice Jay appeared in a gorgeous cloak presented to him when he received a degree as Doctor of Laws from the University of Dublin, while the other Judges wore the plain, black gown which is still the uniform of the Court. They

met every day for three days in succession, but not a case was placed upon the calendar, nor did a litigant nor a lawyer appear before them. Then they accepted as a body an invitation to a dinner. This was the first official action of the court. It is a precedent which they have followed, not collectively, but individually, with the greatest success for one hundred and twenty years. When a hostess in Washington wishes to make her dinner a success, her first effort is not the Cabinet, nor the Senate, nor the House of Representatives, nor the Diplomatic Corps, but the Justices of the Supreme Court. If she can secure one of them, and generally there are only two or three available on account of the immense labor which devolves upon them, her dinner is a success. She simply builds around the Justice her Diplomats, her Cabinet Ministers, her Senators and her members of the House, and the central figure, like Abou Ben Adam, leads all the rest.

It is another curious incident connected with the beginnings of the court that this dinner was given by the Grand Jury of the County. The court was wholly unknown because entirely new, and the Grand Jury believing and saying that they were the oldest institution under the Common Law and its guardian and protector, were the proper hosts to pay the first honors to the new Court. From being wholly unknown, as at the beginning, the Supreme Court is to-day the best known, the most respected, the most authoritative and the most august tribunal in the world. I have tried, but my imagination fails me, to create a scene where the Marshal of the District of Columbia should, in a similar way, convey from the Grand Jury an invitation to the court as a body to officially accept their invitation for dinner.

It illuminates the present situation and discussion and the claim for nobility of the ideas which are now so eloquently and vigorously presented in regard to the courts to recall the proceedings of the convention which framed the Constitution. This was no ordinary gathering. Its members had passed through the fires of revolution. They had broken ties with the Mother Country to which they were bound by tradition, history and education. They were educated men, profound students and familiar with every trial of government which history dis-

closed and of every theory which philosophers had propounded. They were trying upon the ruins of the Confederacy, where the central government had no power and the States flouted its decrees, its orders and its statutes, to build a safe and permanent republic, which should preserve for all liberty and law. They debated as to the powers of the States and as to the powers which should be granted by the States to the Federal Government. They were guided by the spirit of Washington's wise advice to "give up a share of liberty in order to preserve the rest." After they had formed their Congress and created their presidency, there still existed the danger of a popular and arbitrary Executive becoming all powerful or of a radical Congress defying both the President and the Constitution. Then was originated the idea of the Supreme Court with power to hold both the Executive and the Legislative branches of the Government within the limits of the Constitution—a court which Washington, with one of his terse phrases, designated, what is has been ever since and always will be, "The Keystone of the Arch of Union."

In those debates these great lawyers, statesmen, philosophers and soldiers canvassed thoroughly and exhaustively the questions of appointment and of removal or, in other words, recall, which are now agitating the public mind. While there was a great debate and many votes upon other provisions of the Constitution, the vote upon the establishment of the Supreme Court, and the great and sweeping powers which were to be granted to it, was unanimous. There was a proposition that the Judges should be removed by a majority vote of the two Houses of Congress, but as against the present provision that their tenure shall be for life and during good behavior and their removal only by impeachment and trial before the Senate, there was but one vote in favor of the removal by a majority vote of the two Houses of Congress.

There was another feature of this debate which illumines the present political situation—the agitation now to create conditions which will make Judges more politicians than Judges, more legislators than interpreters of the law and the Constitution. A proposition was offered in the Convention that the Court should have the power to revise acts passed by Congress

before they were submitted to the President, but the unanimous judgment upon this proposition was that the function of the Court was not legislative, it was not executive, it was not to make laws, but to interpret the laws according to the written Constitution. Now, however, we are told that it is essential to liberty and to a quick response to the popular will that judicial decisions shall be submitted to a vote by the people, or, more drastic, that if the Judges' decisions of the Court are not popular the Judge shall be recalled. All of this reduced to its last analysis means that justice shall be administered by the mob.

Judge Grover was one of the ablest jurists who ever occupied a seat upon our Court of Appeals. He was a rough diamond. It was my good fortune to know him intimately. I remember that when the Court of Appeals sat at Saratoga Springs some one met him in the United States Hotel, and said, "Judge, are you staying here?" He said, "No, I can't stand what they call a course dinner, with twenty different things and an hour to serve it. I stay at a boarding house where my victuals are all on the table at once."

He was the author of the famous phrase that when a lawyer is defeated in the highest court he has no remedy but to go down to the tavern and curse the Court.

But the statesmen of the hour propose now that the attorney shall have a new remedy, and that is by petition remove the Court and secure one which will decide according to his brief and retainer.

Within the last year there have been two trials where passion and not justice occupied the bench. In each it was discovered after the victims were killed that they were innocent. Col. Roosevelt tells an admirable story of his experience while a rancher in the West, when a citizen was hung as a horse thief. It was found shortly afterward that he was innocent and one of the court which condemned and executed him was appointed to gently break the news to his wife. He said, on being greeted as he entered the house, "Excuse me, madam, but where is your husband?" She said, "He is down in the village." Said he, "No, he ain't, I have got him in a box out in the wagon. He is dead. The boys made a mistake and

lung him, but they want me to tell you for your comfort and consolation that they have found since that he was innocent."

Any one who has had a large experience in State Legislatures or in the National Congress knows that many acts become laws under popular clamor or to gratify particular interests of capital or labor which the courts afterward declare to be unconstitutional, but every lawyer knows that the court in rendering its decisions points out how the things sought for by the legislative body can be attained and still be within the provisions of the Constitution. The court does not legislate, the court does not pretend to say whether the acts are wise or unwise. Then, why this clamor against the decision and for its recall, or against the court and its destruction? It is because of impatience and cowardice. All politicians who have engineered the law wish to get immediate benefit from the people who desire it, and therefore think that the recall would be a shorter method and that it would be a club which would intimidate the court in deciding against its convictions and its conscience. The other reason is cowardice. The promoters of such a statute do not wish to confess that they did not know how to prepare it. They are afraid to go before the legislative body of which they are members and acknowledge the error which they committed in the original act. They are afraid to say to that legislative body, "We have now prepared a bill which accomplishes the same purpose we originally intended, but it is strictly within the provisions of the Constitution and will be approved by the court." To make such a declaration and such an admission would lead to the charge that they were half-baked statesmen, and they would lose credit with their constituency and authority with the body to which they belong. Therefore, it is safer, and, properly presented, infinitely more popular to ask for the overthrow of the court.

During my years as a Senator the question would often be discussed in the free intercourse of the committee rooms what position under the government was most desirable. Of course, the Presidency was the first ambition of all, and yet I have known Presidents who would be glad to exchange the White House for the Supreme Court. But, the Presidency aside, the opinion always was that for a man who was com-

petent and fit, there was no office in the world which presented such opportunities, which granted such independence, from which could be derived so much pleasure and in which there were so many opportunities for usefulness and permanent fame as to be a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The traditions of that great tribunal are an inspiration to every member. Great men have preceded them and their decisions have made possible the perpetuity of the Union of the States and the preservation of a government of liberty, law and order. The court has expanded to apply by interpretation the general principles of the Constitution to meet and permit the marvelous growth of the country and the development of its resources. That our institutions which were framed when our country consisted of thirteen States and three millions of people are elastic enough for all the needs of forty-eight States and a hundred millions of people is due to the wisdom, the courage, the learning and the genius of the Supreme Court.

We here to-night congratulate the Supreme Court that to succeed one of the greatest Justices who ever honored that tribunal the President has appointed and the Senate has confirmed so great a lawyer, so profound a jurist, so wise and broad a man as our guest, Mr. Justice Pitney.



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